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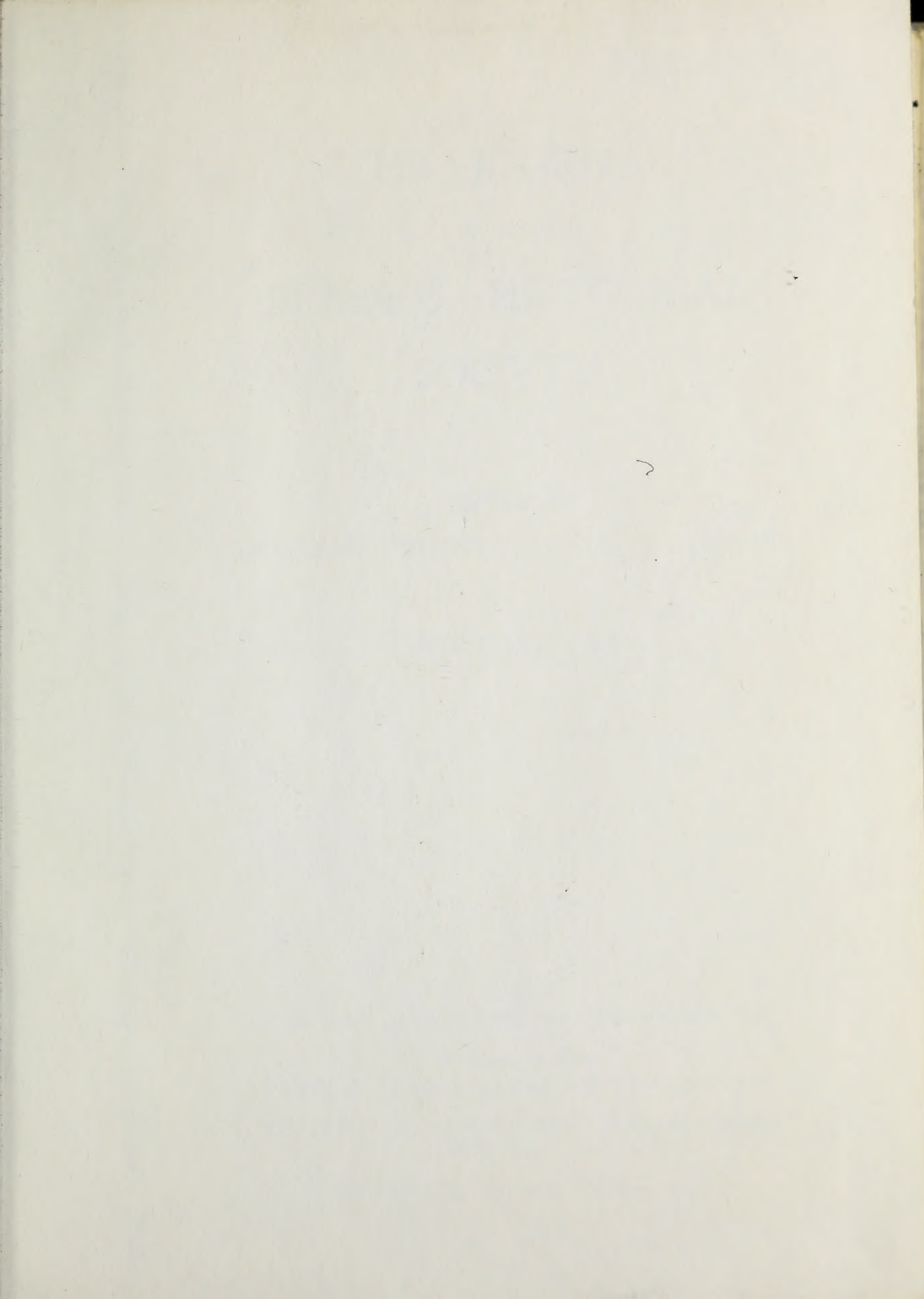
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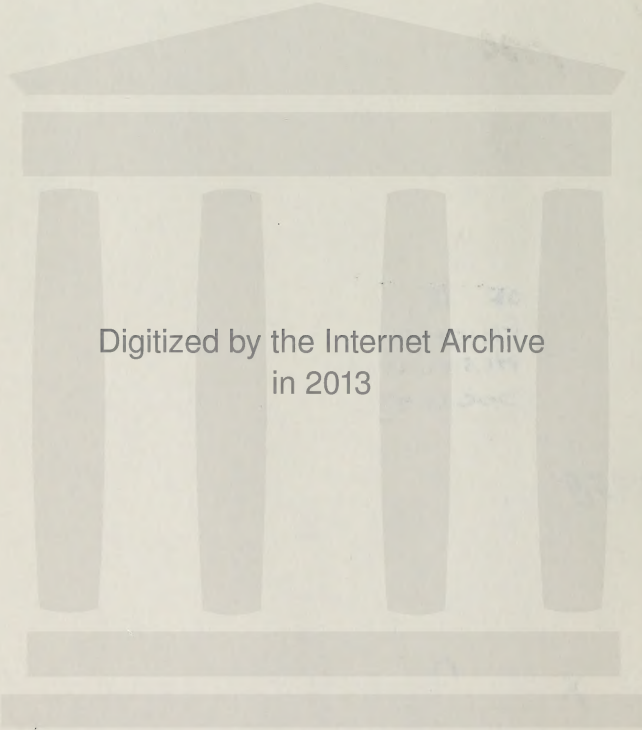
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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

EDITED BY
NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

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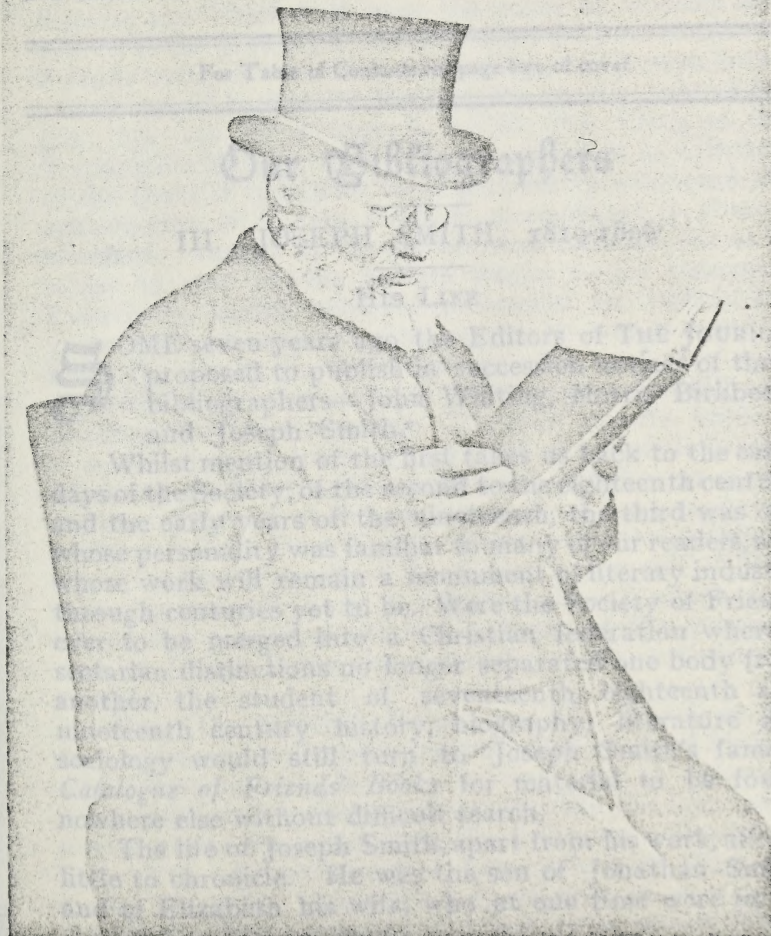
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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

For Terms of Contribution, see inside cover.



JOSEPH SMITH.

1819-1896.

[See p. 1.]

In compiling this volume, the author has been aided by the earliest notice of Joseph Smith, the *Report of Ashworth & Co.* (Association, 1897).

* For John Willing, see iv. 7, and for Maria Dakech see viii. 6.

* Remedy of Shiloh Walden.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

For Table of Contents see page two of cover

Our Bibliographers

III. JOSEPH SMITH, 1819-1896¹

HIS LIFE



OME seven years ago the Editors of THE JOURNAL proposed to publish in succession notices of three bibliographers—John Whiting, Morris Birkbeck, and Joseph Smith.²

Whilst mention of the first takes us back to the early days of the Society, of the second to the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, the third was one whose personality was familiar to many of our readers, and whose work will remain a monument of literary industry through centuries yet to be. Were the Society of Friends ever to be merged into a Christian federation wherein sectarian distinctions no longer separated one body from another, the student of seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century history, biography, literature and sociology would still turn to Joseph Smith's famous *Catalogue of Friends' Books* for material to be found nowhere else without difficult search.

The life of Joseph Smith, apart from his work, affords little to chronicle. He was the son of Jonathan Smith³ and of Elizabeth his wife, who at one time were in the

¹ In compiling this sketch the writer has made free use of his own earlier notices of Joseph Smith; see *Report of Ackworth Old Scholars' Association*, 1897.

² For John Whiting, see iv. 7, and for Morris Birkbeck see viii. 9.

³ Formerly of Saffron Walden.

service of Joseph and Elizabeth Fry, and was born at Brook Street, Ratcliff, London, on 14th December, 1819. Amongst his earliest recollections were those of the Friends' Meeting House at the corner of Brook Street and Schoolhouse Lane, built in 1797 on the land purchased by Thomas Yoakley on behalf of Friends in 1666. On this historic site, which had been the scene of violence and tumult in the days of persecution under Sir John Robinson, Friends continue to hold their meetings, and Joseph Smith was attached to Ratcliff Meeting the greater part of his life. He was for a time, in middle life, Clerk of the Preparative Meeting from 1857 to 1871, but as a Friend of the Quietist type with some pertinacity withstood the introduction of modern methods as employed in Mission Meetings. Indeed he carried his obstruction so far as to refuse to give up the Minute Books to his successor. Eventually, having retained possession for twenty-five years after his appointment ceased, he was induced to hand the books to the writer in 1896, and they were deposited with other records belonging to Ratcliff and Barking Monthly Meeting. The fair minute book is a model of neat transcription. Of the Burial Ground adjoining the Meeting House he used to tell some quaint stories. Portions of it had names given by a caretaker, such as "Gold Dust Row," where were the graves of some wealthy Friends; "Dead Man's Corner"; "Mortality Common"; and "Angelical Row," which contained the graves of children. Amongst the graves is that of Joseph Besse, the chronicler of the sufferings of Friends.

Near the Meeting House was the school of the Coopers' Company, where Joseph Smith received his first school instruction. In 1829 he was sent to Ackworth School, and well remembered in after life the long coach ride of about 170 miles from the "Saracen's Head" on Snow Hill. He remained at Ackworth until 1834, and during these five years, the longest time he ever spent out of London, probably did not once return home. What he learned there is not specifically known, but it is not unfair to assume that to his Ackworth training his excellent handwriting, correct spelling and pronunciation combined with accuracy in written or spoken

language, were measurably due. The very slight imperfection in the enunciation of the letter r did not appear to detract from the general effect of his pronunciation. He kept up the use of Friends' "plain language" when conversing with familiar friends of his own persuasion.

On leaving school he was apprenticed to William Grimshaw, a watchmaker, and remained with him seven years. From watches he turned to umbrellas, and spent the next seven years in the employment of John Morland in Eastcheap. In 1846 he was married at the Registry Office, Stepney, to Martha Talbot, who died after a brief married life, leaving no child. In those days the discipline of the Society of Friends was exercised severely against those who married non-members, or who married members contrary to usages. Joseph Smith was guilty on two counts, and when it was reported to the Monthly Meeting that he had married without the knowledge of Friends, two members were appointed to visit him and report the result. He received them "kindly," but they had to report that he had married one not in membership at the Stepney Registry Office, and that evidently he was not so convinced of the "impropriety" of his conduct as his visitors desired. Accordingly Joseph Smith's membership ended on the 22nd September, 1846, by disownment. In the minute in which this was recorded emphasis was laid upon the concern of Friends "to maintain inviolate the religious character" which the Society had ever attached to so important a step as marriage. The minute concluded with the expression of the hope that he might "eventually be reinstated in fellowship with Friends." This pious hope was fulfilled before many years elapsed. Joseph Smith applied for re-instatement in the latter part of 1849, and was re-admitted into membership in February, 1850. It is probable that during the three years in which he was out of membership, he kept in close touch with Friends either in Ratcliff or Westminster.

Leaving umbrellas in Eastcheap, Joseph Smith directed his attention to the study of the literature of the Society of Friends from its earliest days, whether in the form of official documents issued by Yearly, Quarterly or other Meetings on both sides of the Atlantic, or the

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issues of individual writers. Not limiting his researches to any special department of Quaker literature, he treated as grist for his mill anything written by a Friend, an ex-Friend, or by writers who had anything to say about Friends—for them or against them. With Charles Gilpin, afterwards M.P. for Nottingham, he opened a book shop in Bedford Street, Strand, but soon afterwards he removed to Oxford Street, Whitechapel, where he remained upwards of forty years. His occupation enabled him readily to carry on the chief work of his life, the compilation of his *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, which, after twenty years of patient preparation, he published in 1867. This will be dealt with in the second portion of this sketch.

He was employed by the Meeting for Sufferings⁴ during many years⁵ to arrange the accumulation of books and manuscripts which the Society of Friends had been steadily accumulating during two centuries, forming the unique collection at Devonshire House known as The Reference Library. Printed books and sets of minute books presented comparatively little difficulty, but the condition of the manuscripts in general was appalling, and Joseph Smith was almost in despair as he commenced his task. But interest in his work, combined with his systematic habits when at work, was the secret of his success in evolving cosmos out of chaos, and making it easy for anyone continuing his work to follow out his method of arrangement. The foundation thus laid years ago has proved of immense value to the first appointed Librarian, who has carried the work of arrangement and indexing far beyond anything contemplated by Joseph Smith. It may be asked why the latter

⁴ The Meeting for Sufferings, the Executive Committee of London Yearly Meeting, had in its early years, in the seventeenth century, for its chief business the succour of Friends suffering persecution by imprisonment or distraint of goods, and thus derived the historic name which it still retains.

⁵ He was first employed on catalogue work in January, 1856, and his last account was paid on the 5th September, 1892. His chief continuous work on book catalogue was 1877-1882; on manuscript catalogue, 1888, 1889. His remuneration, which was one shilling per hour, appears small, but it must be remembered that he worked when he pleased, and in his own irregular, fitful manner. As bookseller, he supplied many additions to the Library at fair profit.

issues of individual writers. Not limiting his research to any special department of Gaelic literature, he treated as great for his skill anything written by a Gael, ex-Friend, or by writers who had anything to say to Friends—for them or against them. With Charles Gilpin afterwards M.R. for Nottingham, he opened book shop in Bedford Street Strand but soon afterwards he removed to Oxford Street Whitechapel where he remained upwards of forty years. His occupation enabled him readily to carry on the chief work of his life, the compilation of his Catalogue of Printed Books which after twenty years of patient preparation, he published in 1867. This will be dealt with in the second part of this sketch.

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last account was paid on the 31st September 1881. The sum was £1000.00.00. The year 1881 was a year of great calamity and distress; our members were small, but it was so much needed that it was decided to supply it in the most regular and prompt manner. As previously, he supplied

was not formally appointed Librarian. Engrossed as he could be when the fit was on him, he could not always be prevailed upon to work, and there was less dependence to be placed upon his regularity as years advanced. William Beck, who yielded to none in his interest in the Library, and in personal kindness to Joseph Smith, used to say that "Joseph" would have been appointed Librarian had his habits been more regular. Up to within a few years of his death he was employed off and on to catalogue congested material, but he became at last, though still sure, very slow. The writer realised this when the copying of some seventeenth century MSS., calculated to occupy twenty hours, actually took Joseph Smith more than forty to accomplish.

Ever ready to converse upon matters connected with the absorbing interest of his life, he took great pains to elucidate any point upon which he was consulted. Familiar with every page of his *Catalogue* down to minute details, he was a walking encyclopædia of Quaker bibliography. With the knowledge of the specialist in one direction he combined the simplicity of the child in others. His business was not a lucrative one, and this circumstance, coupled with improvident ways and generous habits, which made him readily a prey of dishonest people, made his circumstances other than easy in later life. His literary work received a recognition from the "Royal Bounty" three times, each time, as he was rather pleased to say, when a Tory Government was in power. In 1894 an appeal for contributions to a fund to assist him was issued, signed by William Beck, Joseph Bevan Braithwaite and the writer, to which many Friends and others responded with donations or promises of annual subscriptions. He was able to draw upon the fund according to requirements by weekly or special allowances, but it was not long wanted. At the time of his decease, two years later, after the payment of funeral expenses and the cost of a simple gravestone as customary in Friends' Burial Grounds, the balance was, with the consent of the donors, applied to the relief of other Friends in necessitous circumstances.

In appearance Joseph Smith was short, but stoutly and squarely built, with a good head and kindly

expression; careless as to his attire, he exposed himself to rain and cold, disdaining the use of an overcoat, even during the severe frost of 1894-5, though seventy-five years of age. During the later period of his residence at Oxford Street, Whitechapel, he lived a hermit life. For years before he left his shop in 1895 the shutters were not taken down from window or door, and the latter was without bell or knocker. If anyone rapped he opened the door cautiously a few inches, before deciding whether to accord admission. Inside the house, books were piled up from floor to ceiling, and the visitor who was allowed to enter threaded his way with difficulty through the dusty tomes. An American lady who visited him said that his dwelling reminded her of such places as Dickens might have described, more than any place she had seen before. She much enjoyed her conversation with him and his prompt reply when she claimed to be of the family of the "Long-Mournful and Sorely-Distressed Isaac Penington"—"But thy name is not Penington." He often received visits from American Friends with whom he had corresponded, both of the "Orthodox" and "Hicksite" branches, but he had more sympathy with the views of the latter than of the former.

Year by year Joseph Smith's stock depreciated in value as he lived upon it whilst making few additions to it, and when at last he was induced by a relation to part with what was left and leave Whitechapel, no large sum was realised by the sale. The stock was mainly bought by one purchaser, and after a further weeding-out process, a remainder was again sold and the final dissipation of the tail-end of the collection took place.

Joseph Smith left London for a time, and lived with relatives in the country. But he was essentially a town bird, and the kind care expended over him was insufficient compensation for the breaking up of old habits of life and the withdrawal from accustomed haunts. He was requested to give evidence in an important privately-conducted investigation at Devonshire House. He came back to London improved in outward appearance, well groomed in comparison with the past, and wearing linen fresh from the hands of the laundress. When, however, his mission was ended, nothing would induce him

to leave the Metropolis again. For the balance of his days he lived in lodgings in Dakin Street, Stepney.

His life ended suddenly on Christmas Eve, 1896, at the age of seventy-seven years, and the intelligence was quickly communicated to the writer, who made arrangements for the funeral. As no medical man was in attendance at the time of decease an inquest was held, at which the Coroner read portions of a kindly letter found in Joseph Smith's pocket from William Beck, the Coroner's near neighbour as it happened, couched in Quaker speech and enclosing a nice sum of money as a Christmas gift. His Post Office Bank book was also produced, showing that he had at the time enough on hand to meet his modest requirements for several months. His possessions were handed over to a nephew, who took out letters of administration. On the 29th December his remains were interred in the Friends' Burial Ground, Wanstead, in the presence of a small company of Friends. The service at the grave and in the Meeting House was such as he would have wished. Isaac Sharp, then in his ninety-first year, took part in it, and it was almost the last occasion on which he attended a meeting.

HIS WORKS

From Joseph Smith's life we turn to his works, and to his *magnum opus* itself for an introduction to these. His first sale catalogue was issued in 1846; supplements appeared in 1847. In 1849 he issued *A Catalogue of Friends' Books Ancient and Modern*, which he re-issued with a longer title the same year. Various catalogues not enumerated were issued between 1846 and 1867, and in 1850 one appeared with the addition of "a Collection of Adversaries' Writings." All these led up to the *Descriptive Catalogue*⁶ issued in two volumes in 1867. In this work of 2,012 pages, we find massed

⁶ A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books, or Books written by Members of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, from their first Rise to the present Time, interspersed with critical Remarks, and occasional Biographical Notices, and including all Writings by Authors before joining, and by those after having left the Society, whether adverse or not, as far as known.

London: Joseph Smith, 2, Oxford Street, Whitechapel, E.

The price was three pounds.

together an array of names of authors, titles and dates of works, including all editions as far as possible, together with valuable biographical and historical notes. It is a rare occurrence to meet with a book belonging to the first two centuries of Quakerism that escaped Joseph Smith's notice. How he got together all his information is a matter of amazement, and, as has already been mentioned, the knowledge that he retained to the end of his life of the contents of his great work was extraordinary. To this worthy successor of John Whiting and Morris Birkbeck must be accorded the first place amongst Quaker Bibliographers. In connection with these three mention must also be made of John Thompson, of Hitchin, who materially assisted Joseph Smith in his researches, and to whose valuable collection of books he had free access. The *Catalogue* met with much commendation and was widely circulated. With pardonable pride its compiler used to say that it was to be found in every great library from the Vatican to Washington, and that no volume of the *National Dictionary of Biography* had appeared without containing some reference to it. Dr. Richard Garnett, "Keeper of Printed Books," wrote from the British Museum, under date 13th March, 1897:—

I am glad to hear that you are writing on the late Mr. Joseph Smith. He deserves high honour for his bibliographical labours, especially the "Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books," and the "Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana." Both, and especially the latter, where he had no old foundation to build upon, are models of painstaking and accurate research, and invaluable for the light they throw upon highly interesting but outlying departments of literature, which, but for him, would have been very obscure. At present, any investigator of early Quaker literature may consult Mr. Smith's bibliographies with the assurance of in all probability finding what he requires.

The following, from the pen of William C. Westlake, which appeared in *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1868, will give some notion of Smith's great work:—

We have, firstly, the author's name, and residence when known, specification of his writings, date of publication, size of book, and number of sheets, coupled not unfrequently with a short biographical record. . . . To those who rejoice in statistics we may state that, dividing the period into half-centuries, we find the number of authors and books recorded in these volumes to be as follows:—

1650-1700	715 authors,	6,092 publications.
1700-1750	266 "	1,887 "
1750-1800	254 "	2,024 "
1800-1850	771 "	5,574 "
1850-1867	168 "	1,027 "
	2,174	16,604

The description of the works of George Fox occupies thirty-three pages, that of the works of William Penn forty-four pages, and the literature of the Keithian Controversy thirty-two pages.

In 1873 Joseph Smith issued his *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana*,⁷ to which special allusion is made in the letter of Dr. Garnett, quoted above. It gives valuable biographical notices of authors, and mentions many works written in refutation of opponents. This work, by no means so well known as the *magnum opus*, contains about 480 pages, wherein are noted many curiosities of literature. Few will now read the works of Charles Leslie, the author of *The Snake in the Grass*, but he occupies eight pages. The Snake controversy continued from 1696 to 1702, Leslie's antagonists being chiefly Whitehead, Scoryer, Wyeth, and a clergyman named Elys. Though the works of the controversialists themselves may lie unheeded on the library shelves, the titles of them will at least be found quaint and illustrative of the times in which they were written.

In 1893 appeared a *Supplement* to the Descriptive Catalogue of 1867 of some 360 pages, a useful addendum and no mean production for a man of seventy-four years of age. In it appears, under the author's name, "*Bibliotheca Quakeristica: A Bibliography of Miscellaneous Literature relating to the Friends (Quakers)*," etc., 1883. Unhappily only two sheets were printed off, and the manuscript has disappeared. Whether it is still in existence is not known.

Amongst the smaller issues of Joseph Smith's pen may be mentioned: *The Society of Friends*, Robert

⁷ *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana*; or, a Catalogue of Books adverse to the Society of Friends, with Biographical Notices of the Authors, together with the Answers which have been given to some of them by Friends and others.

London: Joseph Smith, 6, Oxford Street, Whitechapel, E.
The price was eighteen shillings.

Barclay and Hai Ebn Yokdan, dealing with an interesting literary episode; short biographical notices of the early Pennsylvanian printers, Reinier Jansen, Andrew Bradford, and Samuel Keimer, whose printed works now realise prices which the printers themselves would have considered fabulous; also his share in the *Biographical Catalogue of Friends whose Portraits are in the London Friends' Institute*, 1888.

And now we reluctantly bid farewell to the worthy old bookman. He had his foibles, and who has not? They were the weaknesses of an erratic genius, trifling in comparison with his solid work. For his literary legacy we are thankful, and we hold him in happy memory.

London.

ISAAC SHARP.

NOTE.

The Editor, as Librarian of the Devonshire House Reference Library, wishes to emphasize the statement made on page 4 of the value of Joseph Smith's labours. The present work done in D. would have been well-nigh impossible without Smith's Catalogues.

9 mo. 1683. Trading in the time of the halfe years Meeting to be avoided by friends concerned in the service of it, as well those of the Country as those of the Cittie of Dublin that the mindes of friends may nott be Cumbered about such things when they should be Concerned about the Lords Business.

MINUTE OF THE NATIONAL HALF-YEARS MEETING held in Dublin.

A good old Quaker preacher who experienced a hard time being humble, had the habit of concluding any narrative regarding his unquestioned good work by adding, "Well, after all, I am only a poor weak creature," with large accent on the "poor" and "weak." An old acquaintance was annoyed by this, to his mind, fictitious humility, and resolved to stop it. He did not have long to wait. One day the preacher, returning from a particularly prosperous religious trip, told his friend with great gusto of his success, concluding his story by saying, "After all, I am only a poor creature."

"Why," replied his friend, "only the other day I heard somebody say that thou wast a poor creature."

Quick as a flash shot back the demand, "Who was it?"

Was that not a lovely touch of human nature?

WILLIAM C. ALLEN in *The Westernian*, 11 mo., 1913.

12. QUAKERS IN EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS.
WELL WAPENTAKE
**Presentations in Episcopal Visitations,
1662:1679**

Continued from vol. x., page 137

LINCOLNSHIRE
Arranged in Wapentakes

CORRINGHAM WAPENTAKE

LAUGHTON. 1662. Aug. 25. Robert Martin ais Drury of Blyton—for sitting in the Church in sermon time & prayer time with his hat on.

1662. Aug. 25. (repeated). 13 Oct. 1662 7/- 20/-. Jan. 63 eñ.

GRAYINGHAM [Graingham]. 1663-4. John Brumbie—for standing excoicate.

John Brumbie—for not suffering his children to be baptized, eñ.

1664. John Brumley—for not haveing his Children baptized & for standing excoicate.

— his supposed wife—for the like.

HEAPHAM. 1662. Aug. 25. Robert Fetherby and Sarah his wife—for refusing to come to ther pish Church—eñ.

1662. Oct. 31. Sarah the wife of Rob^t Fotherby—for not coming to or pish Church to hear divine service & sermon—eñ.

1663. Ap. 30. Sarah Featherby the wife of Rob^t Featherby—for not coming to the pish Church & being twice excoicated as above being a Quaker as the same goeth.

1664. April 20. Sarah the wife of Rob^t Stotherbee—for not coming to her pish Church.

1664. April 21. Sarah the wife of Rob^t Stetherby [Featherby]—for not coming to hir pish Church.

1664. 8 Augti. Thomas Bentham and Anna Smyth his supposed wife—for standing excoicate.

WELL WAPENTAKE

UPTON CUM KEXBIE. 1662. Aug^t 25. William Hewet for not bring[ing] his child to bee baptised.

William Hewet & his wife—for not coming to Church.
22 Sep. 62. m[onitus]. 13 Oct. (62) ex.

William Hewit—for not being married according to Lawes & Statutes.

26 Sept^r 1662. *fass.* that they are not married according to or Lawe, but doe live together as man & wife, & by their owne consent are man & wife, & they allow noe other marriage.

August 25. 1662. Willm Hewit & Jane his wife—for not coming to the pish Church.

Willm Hewit—for not baptising a child.

[Same date] William Hewet—for not bring[ing] his child to the Church to bee baptised.

Also William Hewit & his wife—for not coming to the Church.

William Hewit—for not being married according to the statute for the time being.

1663. Oct. William Hewet & his wife—for standing excoicate.

William Hewit for not being married according to the Lawes and Statutes of the Realme—but living Incontinently together.

26 7^{ber} 1662.

fateetur—that they are not married according to or Lawe, but doe live together as man & wife & by their owne consent are man & wife & they allow of noe other marriage.

1663. April 28. Willm Hewit & Jane his wife, of Kexby in the pish of Upton—for not coming to Church, being excoicate wth Inhibition as aforesaid.

BURTON GATE. 1662. Aug. 25? Abraham Northam & Ann his wife & his daughter Elizabeth—for not coming to Church in divine service.

22 Sep. 62.

20 Nov. 62. ex.

1662. Decr. 16. Abraham Northeme & Anne his wife & Elizabeth his daughter—for standing excomuni-

cate—being formerly p^resented at the Bp^s Visitation for not coming to their pish Church.

1663. April 28. } Abraham Northen & Anne his wife,
1663. Oct. } Elizabeth Harper his daughter—
for standing exco^micate.

1663. April 28. Elizabeth Northen—a quaker & absenting herself from the Church.

[Query: Is this E. N. an undoubted Quaker, the daughter (*ut supra*), or the sister of Abraham Northen?]

MARTON. 1662. Aug^t 25. Edward Harrison & his wife, Thomas Hessor & his wife (e^x), Willm his sonne (e^x), John Hooton Sen^r (e^x), And his daughter Ursula (e^x), Rob^t Stamper & Bridget his wife (e^x)—p^resented for Quakers & not coming to Church.

1662. Oct. 31 ("Martin"). Edward Harrison & his wife, Thomas Bhesant & his wife, & William his sonne, John Hooton the older & Ursula his daughter, Rob^t Stamper & Bridgett his wife—for not coming to Church.

1663. Ap. 28. Edward Harrison & Elizabeth his wife, Thomas Fesson & Willm his sonne, Rob^t Stamper & Bridgett his wife, John Horton & Ursula his daughter—All these were p^resent[ed] for not coming to the Church, being excommunicate before.

1664. Oct. 24. Edmond Harrison & his wife, Rob^t Stampe & his wife, Thomas Pheasant, Willm Pheasant his sonne—for standing exco^micate.

1663-4. Thomas Fezon, William Fezon his sonne, John Howton sen^r, Ursula Howton his daughter, Rob^t Stampe, Bridgett his wife—for standing exco^micate.

1664. Aug^t 10. Thomas Phesant, Willm his sonne, Edw: Harrison & his wife, Rob^t Stampe—for standing exco^micate.

TORKESEY.—1662. Aug. 25. Edward Northing, Thomas Cravin, Willm Townesse[on]—for not coming to Church.

do. Edward Northin—for not coming to Church—quaker—22 Sept. 62 denyeth to come to the Church.

Thomas Cravin (quaker) for the like, e^x.
Quak^r. William Townesson—for the like, e^x.

1663. April 28. Thomas Craven¹ & Edmond Northend—for standing excoicate.

Also the said Edmond Northend & his wife—for detaining their child from being baptized.

1662. Oct. 31. Thomas Crane als Cravin, Edward Northen & Mary his wife (e^x)—for not coming to Church.

Edward Northen & his wife—for haveing a child not baptized.

1663-4. Thomas Craven, Edward Northend & his wife—for standing excoicate.

1663. Oct. 15 ("Torksley"). Roger Makins—for Imploying as Labourer Edward Northen of the same, being a pson excoicate with Inhibition.

HARWICK DE TORKSEY.—Thomas Knight i^{bm}—for being a witness of the will of Thomas Craven late of the same dec^d being a pson e^x with Inhibition.

25 May 1664.

alleg^t that he was called to be witnes at the will of the sd Craven, but did not know that he was e^x with Inhibition—neither had any further conversation with him but onely subscribed his name as a witnes to the sd will.

John Knight—de ead—for the like.

1664. Aug. 10. Edward Northen & Mary his wife—for standing excoicate.

1683. May 9 ("Torksley"). Edward Northen & Mary his wife—for not coming to his pish Church. ex.

Edward Northwin & Mary his wife—for not coming to their pish Church.

1684. Ap. 8. Edward Northing & Mary his wife—for standing excoicate.

1684. Sep. 17. Edward Northing—for standing excoicate.

G. LYON TURNER.

To be continued

¹ Robert Craven was Sheriff of Lincoln, 'convinct' by George Fox (Camb. *Jnl* i. 149).

16 AMERICAN FRIENDS IN ENGLAND

Personal Recollections of some of the American Friends who travelled in England on Religious Service from 1835 to 1852¹

REMINISCENCES declare character—that of the writer as well as of those he desires to recall. In putting down all that I can distinctly remember of the visits of these good men and women to my father's² house, and some of them stayed for weeks, I am concerned to observe how trivial are the few words I can remember that they uttered—and how superficial, to some extent, was the estimate I formed of their worth.

STEPHEN GRELLET

The one exception to this regret is a man no one could disregard—Stephen Grellet. Of very noble presence and singularly delightful intonation in speech, gentle, dignified, venerable, his words appealed to all hearts—especially to us young people, fresh from our evangelical school, where the Huguenots were the heroic figures of modern history—and in this Christian gentleman we saw a member of the “old régime” as well as kinsman of the great French Reformers, one who might, too, have walked straight out of Port Royal, one that appealed to all that was the highest we knew. Stephen Grellet dined with us in the room in Bull Street,³ where we spent the time between meetings on First-day. I cannot now recall any of his words, but his manner, aspect and bearing were that

¹ For other recollections of the travelling Ministers named below, see *THE JOURNAL*, iv. 87-98.

² Thomas Southall, of Birmingham (1794-1861), son of John and Mary (Burlingham) Southall, of Leominster, and one of the founders of the Pharmaceutical Society, in conjunction with Jacob Bell. He married Sarah Shorthouse in 1824.

³ Meetings in Birmingham on First-days were held at 10 a.m. and 3 p.m., which made it difficult for Friends living on the outskirts of the town to go to and fro between meetings. Accordingly a dinner was always provided by Thomas and Sarah Southall at the business premises in Bull Street, near by, at which there were usually many invited guests.

of a man endued with power from on high, and I regarded him as an Apostle of the Lord, and his words as of Apostolic authority.

When my mother, Sarah Southall, was a child, she first saw Stephen Grellet at the home of Henry Storrs of Chesterfield. She told us that his countenance so impressed her that she took a low stool, placed it by his knee, sat down upon it, and gazed into his face. He placed his hand on her head, in the attitude of benediction, and said, "*Ma petite précieuse.*"

THOMAS ARNETT

Thomas Arnett was with us many weeks whilst visiting Birmingham and the adjacent Meetings. He was a little man with a sallow complexion and small scrutinizing eyes. He preached very long sermons—but his manner was weighty and powerful. I fear he viewed us young people as in danger of wandering from the true path, but he was full of interest in all we did. One day he walked up to me and said, "Dear Margaret, she knows that I love her." I believe his interest was purely spiritual.

JAMES JONES

This good man spent some time at our house. As soon as we found he was connected with building, we wanted to talk to him about the size of building bricks. We had been reading Ruskin and were all agog with the subject. The narrow brick had been discarded in favour of one much thicker, and houses in which these are used cannot fail to offend the eye. J. Jones explained that the bricklayer's hod was made to hold a certain quantity of a certain size, and that to make a flatter, thinner brick, like a Roman brick, would not do. I remember I flung myself at J. J., and explained that what Ruskin believed must be carried out, even if new hods had to be made.

PHILADELPHIA FRIENDS

Hannah Rhoads and another friend from Philadelphia spent some time with us; they were very interesting, distinguished women. John Meader and his wife, from Providence, Rhode Island, were in England at the same time.

When it was proposed that all these Friends should visit Birmingham at the same time, we young people decided that they should all be entertained at our house—that it would be more homely for them, strangers in a foreign land, if they were all together. So Anna Mary⁴ gave up her room and Ellen⁵ hers, and thus four rooms were provided.

The friends from Philadelphia arrived first.

The ministry of John Meader was of such a very helpful description, and there was such a sweetness and gentleness in his bearing which deeply impressed us, that we were delighted at the thought of helping this good man during his visit to our home.

When the Meaders arrived, the Friends from Philadelphia refused to speak to them. There was great consternation, but gradually, as the days went on, the ice thawed a little, and there was some general conversation at meal times.

LINDLEY MURRAY HOAG

A young man, recently widowed, very eloquent, with an attractive countenance and personality, so different from all the previous visitors from America that we fell under his spell at once, wrote out his sermons, drew his portrait, and followed him from meeting to meeting. I should say L. M. H. was a man spiritually endowed with great gifts and indescribable *charm*, itself a gift of heavenly origin.

After a time it was considered best he should return home for a while, until the *furore* had abated, but with the approval of his friends he returned and finished his ministerial course in this country.

SUSAN HOWLAND

The ministry of S. Howland was largely symbolical. Her sermons were chiefly founded on texts taken from the Prophet Ezekiel. I often used to question, Does the

⁴ Anna Mary Southall (1825-1884), eldest daughter of Thomas and Sarah Southall, m. 1858, William Ransom, of Hitchin, son of John and Hannah (Burgess) Ransom, of Hitchin.

⁵ Ellen Southall (1826-1869), second daughter of Thomas and Sarah Southall, m. 1856, George Dymond, of Birmingham, son of John and Sarah (Wilkey) Dymond, of Exeter.

speaker really understand what she is saying? The most mystical and mysterious passages were treated as oracles. S. Howland was a sweet, simple woman, whom it was a privilege to entertain.

The above notes were written by Margaret Evans, of Llanmaes House, near Llantwit Major, some time before her death on 4th July, 1913, at the age of eighty-five. By permission of her daughter, Mrs. Gertrude Williams, they are now printed.

The footnotes have been supplied by G. C. Dymond, of Birkenhead.

"George Eliot" and Barclay's "Apology"

WILLIAM G. SMEAL, of Glasgow, draws attention to an article which appeared in *The Westminster Review* of 1852, during the time that George Eliot was Assistant Editor, and which was reprinted in part in *The British Friend*, x. (1852), 266. The whole article is well worth reading. Of Quaker literature, the Author (probably George Eliot herself) writes :—

"We must not suppose that the Quaker literature, *pro* and *con*, is confined to profane and scurrilous attack and quaint rejoinder; we should find in it much adroit argument and many earnest, heart-spoken appeals, and at least one masterpiece, both in style and manner, among the richest gems of our language. . . . Truly to any one wandering in the dreary waste of polemics of this age or that, Barclay's *Apology for Quakers* would be a pleasant place to alight upon. A complete proficient in the learning of the schoolmen, Barclay wields their weapons with wondrous skill to destroy the empire which they had so long held over men's souls, and he defends the truth with a chivalrous devotion and courtesy to his opponents, reminding us of the Norman knights from whom he was descended; and, mingling with his eloquence and skilful logic, we ever hear a strain of such pure and heartfelt piety as touches our hearts fully as much as it pleases our fancy and our reason."

See *George Eliot*, by Cross, 1885, i. 275.

Love labour: for if thou dost not want it for food, thou mayst for physic. It is wholesome for thy body, and good for thy mind. It prevents the fruits of idleness, which many times comes of nothing to do, and leads too many to do what is worse than nothing.

WILLIAM PENN, *Reflections and Maxims*, i. 57.

George Fox to William Penn, 1678¹

der w. p with my love to thee & to thy wife & to thy father & mother & to all the rest of frendes in the lordes pover & seed that reanes & is over all the evell seedes man & his seed wich is for the fier wich evell seedesman blindeth all in ther frist berth that they can nether see the kingdom of god nor enter in to it in ther frist berth thos th[at] may profes all the wordes given ovt of the mouth of the good seed of the kingdom of God & the lord god is doing good & all things shall worke together for good to them that love god & his word is a trid word from the foundashon of the world throw all the waterre stormes & fludes & hales of this frosen world & the word hath bine trid by all the whipes & baneshements spoveling of goodes & cruel mockers & skoferers & skorner ralerers & revilers & threateners & flaterers & jalers & jales presones & dongenes & galeses jebets racks & torters & fierers the word abides & in duers & lives throw all o the riches of the word & the wisdom of the word & the pashantnese of the word the word of reconsilishon by which all gods people ar borne againe of the imortall seed by the word of god & feedeth vpon the milke of the same by which the doe grow by ther heavenly milke & when that the com to ther groth to eat that flesh that the word was mad & drinke that blud which giveth them life eternall & cometh to be flesh of his flesh & bone of his bones & the riches of the word may be seen throw all the santified ones from geneses to the revelashones & soe it will be to the ende in all that the word of god dwelleth plentvesly in & this word is a sord & a hamer & fier to that wch is contary to its nater & this was the word of faith that was preachd in the new Covesnant of light & life & grace that all is to obe & doe in ther hartes & movethes the word of reconsilashon commitd to the minesteres of it to make all rich & to be reconsild to god & so der wilam keep ouer all in it & as for all this work that is a brod among the ploters

¹ Copied from the original in H.S.P. by Ellen M. Dawes; and the proof compared with the original by the Editor.

which is latly brovght forth among the papesh whoes worke is to merdor a bloody relegen & spirit not christes whoe come to save menes lifes & not to destruy them & tould them that they did not know what spirit they were of that would a had ther liveses destroyed that would not recve christ & therfor the lord god all mighty presverse all frendes in christ ther rest & peas saver & life over that [blind]² destroying spirit [that knows not its own spiritt]² to the glory of god amen—

as for pasesges of trovth in the north meetinges at present ar qveit thos ther hath bin great soveferinges & spoveling of goodes som have letill laft & in bishopruck the ar bad still & thomas cam the have taken from him in bese or coves & ther is latell talke of 1: st [John Story] & his company they ar cloes & still & have goten a new master that teath them to save selef ther long desered libarty of consences & ther is an aneser to wilkes sher bad paper from F: cam j bad him sen one of them to thee it may doe well & alsoe j have anserd a malishvs enves & callamnus paper of wr. [William Rogers] vnder pretentis of qveres absalvt charges which paper of his both spoveld the caues of the 2 jones & his one & brovght the cheane over them in the sight of the simpell & vpright that his wilfull mased head hath brovght forth a 2 ratell which will please non but ratell heades like him selef with his healesh paper of lies but it is well & the lordes seed & pover is over all this boeth with in and with out glory over all to the lord god all mighty for ever amen soe with my love & the love of this famely in the lordes pover that is over all & in that the lord god all mighty presverse thee & all frendes to his glory in the day light of christ over this night of apostesy in the light & lif in venety soe with my love & j deser thee to speak to marke [Mark Swanner] to get my anesar to r wilanes [Roger Williams] book of new ingland for ther is great need of it & wilam cotinton [Coddington] his booke & to stop such thinges which non of them covld doe & might a ben a great sarves had the com out in ther season & that will ly vpon them that hath stopt it but j deser that my anser may be printd forth with and sent over to new ingland & that of tieths [?] it could be printd it might doe

² Insertions by Sarah Fell.

well to the vnder standing of frendes & people soe with
my love to all that qvereth after mee & to a. p. [Alexander
Parker] g. w. [George Whitehead] & w. g. [William Gibson]
& t. r. [Thomas Rudyard]

gff

Swarthmor day 13 mo 11.

1678

j did wright to a. p. abovt abia trot³ and g. r to have a
meeting to the seteling som thing vpon her & to see what
& wher her state is it doeth greve mee to see & heare of
the soveferinges of poore frendes & the snapping of others
that hath not the care of godes glory & honer & doeth not
consider how that the ayes of the lord is vpon all frendes
& all peoples whoe should ovt strip all people in trovth
righteovsnes godlynes & holy nes which be cometh his
hoves

gff

[Added by Sarah Fell]

I recd thine, last weeke & was glad to hear from thee.

[Addressed by Sarah Fell]

To W : Penn These delivr

Leave this with Phillip Ford at the
Hood and Scarfe in Bow lane
in These
London.

The Cambridge "Journal of George Fox"

Continued from Vol. X. p. 262

38.—Vol. II. p. 390. The burial of Col. Richard Kirkby is thus described by Sir Daniel Fleming in his Book of Accounts (see Hist. MSS. Com. Report, 1890, p. 397—Fleming MSS.) :—

1681. Sept. 10. At Kirkby Hall—being at the funeral of Collonel Richard Kirkby, who dyed there, September 9, 1681, about 8 of the clock at night and was buried in Kirkby church the next day between his first and second wives, his third wife being buried at London, and his fourth wife being at his funeral.

³ For Abia Trott, see *Camb. Jnl.* The initials in this line doubtless indicate Alexander Parker and Gerard Roberts.

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my love to all that qvereth after mee & to a. p. [Alexander
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George Swan, of Glasgow

GEORGE SWAN, who for more than thirty years was one of the most active members of the little company of Friends at Glasgow, was said to have been born at Windsor soon after the Restoration—a reputed son of Charles II.¹ The boy received the name of Swan from his nurse, the wife of a gunner belonging to the Castle.² In 1691 we find him established as an innkeeper in the Gorbals, Glasgow; his daughter says that he had spent £3,000—a large sum in Scotland two hundred years ago—in building operations in that

¹ For another Quaker offspring of royalty, see THE JOURNAL, x. 263.

² A daughter of George Swan, Hannah Robertson by name, published a little volume of *Memoirs*, in which she gives these and other particulars of her father's life. She was said, traditionally, to have herself borne a striking likeness to her reputed grandfather. A friend reminds me of traditions, which in our youth still lingered amongst Friends at Edinburgh, as to George Swan being apprenticed to a goldsmith, who also joined Friends; also that Charles II. remarked that whilst he had made other sons of his *Dukes* (Scots for Ducks), he had made this one a *Swan*. The "goldsmith" is I think more likely to have been Bartholomew Gibson, "the King's smith and farrier" in the Canongate, Edinburgh. He was long a Friend of weight in that city. He is first mentioned in Meeting records in 1676, when he is said to be "deadly sick," but he recovered and lived until 1710, dying in that year, aged 87. Hannah Robertson probably lost her membership by "marrying out," but she kept in touch with Friends, and in her later years, when living in Edinburgh in straightened circumstances, David Barclay, of Walthamstow, and other Friends made her a yearly allowance. She was alive in 1801, when David Barclay corresponded on the subject with my grandfather, George Miller. She probably died in 1808.

The following lines are said to have been written by her on one of the windows of the old Meeting House at the Abbey, Edinburgh:—

" Approach this place, with reverence come,
Serve God, tho' each tongue should be dumb :
Experience that mysterious art,
To feel his presence at thy heart,
And hear his whispers, soft and kind,
In holy silence of the mind.

" Then rest thy thoughts, nor let them roam
In quest of joy—for heaven's at home—
And feel the Beams of purest love,
An emblem of the Bliss above.
And may each soul its powers extend
Beyond where time and nature end ;
And reach those heights, that Blest abode,
And meet the kindest smiles of God."

part of Glasgow. By this time he was married to a lady of the name of Ramsey, "a bigoted presbyterian," whose brother was "an eminent merchant in Bo'ness." George Swan is first mentioned in the Meeting records in 1691. The chronicler of the sufferings of the persecuted Friends at Glasgow relates:—

Upon the 18th of the 12th mo: Margret steven³ (comonly caled captain of the whit regiment) with her Companie Came upon us and had near kiled some of us and when on went to the provist and told him he Commanded three oficers to bring us to him and as we went the rable stoned us all the way so the provist after he had questioned us Com-manded to put the strangers out of the toun which was done and we Conveyed them to the gorballs and went into the house of on Georg Swan. Petter Corbatt then balzie in the gorballs sent his oficer and Charged Georg Swan not to suffer us in his house and when we were Come to the street the rable fell upon us and had like to have murthered us with hands and stons and great rungs.

At this time it is evident George Swan was not a member, though probably not ill disposed to Friends,⁴ but four years later, in Sixth Month, 1695, we find him attending Edinburgh Quarterly Meeting as a duly accredited representative from Glasgow. Probably his becoming a Friend had exasperated his wife, for we learn from Thomas Story that

one of the Elders of the Presbyterian Church in Glasgow going to the House of George Swan, a Friend, who was an Inn-keeper in that City, exhorted and commanded his Wife, she being a presbyterian, that if any of the Quakers should come to their House, she should beat them; and her Husband too, if he should encourage them. And in this she proved

³ Margaret Steven was again active in 1692. "Upon the 29th of y^e 3^d mo Thomas Polock on of them Caled Elders & w^t him two toun oficers came in upon us & when they had threatned us went out (& as was reported by some y^t saw them) sent y^e two oficers to Marget Stevens door desiring her to come w^t some other of her Confederats to drag us out of our Meeting house & he brought another Elder w^t two toun oficers more who came & draged us out man by man to y^e hands of Margret Steven & her rable who beat & punched our bodies." Can any of our Glasgow friends furnish any further information about this virago and her "regiment"?

⁴ There seems to have been another friendly innkeeper living in Glasgow at this time. The name of James Thompson, "Junkeeper Jn Glasgow," was brought before Edinburgh Quarterly Meeting, xii. 1691. He had been "fynd jn ten marks scots for Entertaining Will^m Simson and o^yr freinds at his house but the magistrats pretended that it was for swearing he would dischairge a Gun among the Rable that attended freinds But freinds being fully Convinced that it was meerly for Receaving them into his hous doe y^t for think fitt to Reimburs him of the s^d ten marks."

obedient; for in my presence, she dragged a Friend of the Town who came to see us, off his Seat by the Hair of his Head upon the Floor, and trampled him under her Feet, tho' he had given her no other Provocation, than by his coming into the Room (where we were) to see us, being Strangers among them.⁵

It is pleasant, however, to note that on Thomas Story's next visit to Glasgow, in 1717, he "lodged at my old Friend George Swan's, where I was kindly and freely entertained, his Wife still living (mentioned in my former Journey thither) but now very loving and courteous, all the old Enmity being slain, but still in Communion with the Presbyterians."⁶ After the usual First-day morning and afternoon gatherings in the Meeting House, the Friends had another meeting in the evening at George Swan's house "which was full as large as any of the other, and open, and the people generally satisfied."⁷

George Swan's name is of very frequent occurrence as representative from Glasgow to the Yearly and Quarterly Meetings at Edinburgh from 1695 to 1730. He was on many epistle committees and other weighty appointments,⁸ and in 1699, as one "of blameless conversation," he was appointed an Overseer of Glasgow Meeting. From his calling as an innkeeper, it was he, naturally, who had to do with the stabling and care of the horses used by "publick Friends," for in those days and for more than a century later, ministering Friends, who did not journey on foot, had generally to make their visitations on horseback. He was especially engaged in the relief of poor Friends and in taking charge of collections for various good objects. As one of those "most experianced with building," he formed one of a Committee appointed Ninth Month, 1701, to inspect "the ruf of the meetting house [at Edinburgh which] was Lickly to com down." In

⁵ *Journal*, p. 95.

⁶ *Journal*, p. 588.

⁷ Several years before this there had been a great improvement in the conduct of the Glasgow magistrates towards Friends. Report was made at Edinburgh Quarterly Meeting, Sixth Month, 1707, "that the provist of glasgow being aplied unto upon som disturbances with som boyes wpon the Complent put the boyes in prison."

⁸ Thus, at the Yearly Meeting in 1719, George Swan reported "y^e John Woodrow had some disgust att a Woman Friend of there meeting which George is desired to give his asistance to get it taken away as Soon as possible."

obedient; for in my presence, she dragged a Friend of the Town who was to see us, off his seat by the side of the floor, and standing
him under her feet, and he had given her so other Provocation, than
his coming into the Room, where we were to see us being strong
among them.

It is pleasant, however, to note that on Thomas Swan's
next visit to Glasgow, in 1797, he "lodged at my
Friend George Swan's, where I was kindly and free
entertained, his Wife still living (mentioned in my former
Journal further) but now very loving and courteous
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Friends and in taking charge of collections for various good
objects. As one of these "most experienced with public
ing," he formed one of a Committee appointed in
Month 1801, to inspect "the state of the meeting house
[at Edinburgh which] was likely to come down."

Journal, p. 22.

Journal, p. 22.

"Several years before this there had been a great improvement
in the conduct of the Glasgow Association towards Friends. . . . but we
with us Edinburgh Quarterly Meeting, with Month 1797, that it
power of Glasgow is very much more upon our distance with some
days when the Association with the power in power."

"Thus at the Yearly Meeting in 1797, George Swan reported
John Withers had come to meet him at a Woman's house of that meeting
which George had long ago invited the Association to get it taken away as
an obstacle."

Sixth Month, 1720, the Quarterly Meeting was informed that Alexander Paterson,⁹ a Scotsman long settled in the South, had sent Three pounds sterling to a Friend in Glasgow towards the expense of building a stone wall round Partick Burial Ground, and that George Swan had intimated his intention of "Contributeing yrto"; and some months later the latter Friend "gav act y^t he had made some progress in forwarding y^e work." Meanwhile, in Twelfth Month, 1720, he appeared before the Quarterly Meeting at Edinburgh and

produced a Letter from y^e Monthly Meeting of Carlisle in Cumberland shewing his Intencion of marriage with Ann Huntentoun¹⁰ daughter to Jsaac Huntentoun of Carlisle and Requiring from there Monthly Meeting [that of Glasgow?] a Certificate of there unity with him in y^e Concern and of Clearness of any concern with any o^yr woman. Friends here in Compliance to Geo: Swan his Concern have consented to order a few Lines to be written from this Meeting concerning his Clearness and y^t W^m Miller Sen^r Geo: Miller & Cha: Ormston to draw y^e same.

It seems strange that he should have applied to the


⁹ Alexander Paterson was one of four students who were "convinced" in the course of the public dispute held at Aberdeen in 1675 between Robert Barclay and George Keith and certain Students of Divinity (Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 457). He was living in London in Tenth Month, 1690, when he and other Scots Friends were nominated by George Fox to correspond with their brethren in Scotland. In the previous month he had married at Peel Meeting Rebecca Tomkins, daughter of George Tomkins of Melcom, Oxon. He is described as schoolmaster of Devonshire Yard, son of John Paterson, Briggend of Mooress, Aberdeenshire. Alexander Paterson lost his wife in 1693, and a son died at the age of eight in 1700; he is then designated schoolmaster in Lime Street. The death of an Alexander Paterson of S. Dionis Backchurch Parish, Merchant, aged 85, is recorded in 1725, possibly the same Friend.

¹⁰ Ann Huntington was born at Carlisle in 1697. She was said to have been the only one of the ten children of Isaac Huntington who by 1740 had married; one of her brothers was a Dr. Huntington of Gainsborough. There seems no record of the marriage, but it was without doubt duly solemnised. A daughter was born in 1724, and there were six other children. She lost her husband in 1731, and would seem in the following year to have married Alexander Christy, one of three brothers from Ulster who about this time settled in Scotland. Alexander Christy appears to have carried on George Swan's business as innkeeper for some years, but eventually settled at Lunkarty Bleachfield, Perth. There is a curious notice of him in *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p. 168:—"1746, Jany. 17.—To M^r Christie, Quaker, for carrying up six cannon to Doun £9 13 11½." The cannon had been landed by the French, and the above is an item in the accounts kept by Oliphant of Gask, who was one of the Governors of Perth for Prince Charles Edward in 1745-1746. Alexander Christy probably died towards the end of Eighth Month, 1764, as Edinburgh Monthly Meeting for that month was "not held by reason of friends having to attend upon Alexander Christie's Burial." His wife is said to have died in 1781.

Quarterly Meeting on the subject. Possibly there may have been at the time some misunderstanding between George Swan and some of his fellow members in the West. Indeed, a couple of months later, a letter was sent to him from Friends of Hamilton Monthly Meeting, "disering him to do gustic to John nisbet"; and in Ninth Month, 1721, a Friend of Glasgow wrote to the Quarterly Meeting "complaining of George Swan's keeping up John Nisbet's Servants wages and also of some discord betwixt the said George Swan and John Purdon." The Meeting would give no decision in the matter until they heard from George Swan himself, and in Third Month, 1722, Friends were able to record that the dispute between George Swan and John Purdon was settled; though the latter Friend "gave account [to the Yearly Meeting] of some [fresh] divisions that were broke forth in the meeting of Glasgow wch Friends here are concerned may be put an end to"; so a committee was appointed to attend Glasgow Meeting the first First-day of the following month "to labour with them for a reconciliation." The efforts of the committee seem to have been on the whole successful; and, as George Swan continued to be actively engaged in Glasgow Meeting business up to the year of his death, it is evident that the misunderstanding had been satisfactorily cleared up so far as he was concerned. He seems to have had in his hands 300 merks belonging to Friends of Glasgow. The last mention in the Meeting records of George Swan during his life time was in Twelfth Month, 1730/31, when Friends at the Monthly Meeting at Mucroft desired George Purdon (who had been appointed in 1728, Clerk, Collector and Treasurer of Glasgow Monthly Meeting) "to Clear Cownts with George Suan Conserining friends horses and to Allow: 15: shillings as being one years Interest of three hundred mercks dew by him to the sd meting," which, the minute adds, "was done and George Swan is endew a years Interest at Whitsonday 1731." He was deceased certainly before the end of that year." In Ninth Month, 1732, Glasgow Monthly Meeting

" The writer has George Swan's walking stick, a prettily mottled Malacca cane, with a piece of amber inserted in the top, and silver (?) band and eyelet hble.

Sad News from Virginia, 1674¹

EARE ffreinds in the endles Loue of the Allmightie, doe wee reach vnto and kindly salute & embrace yo^u, theese are to lett yo^u vnderstand that wee receaued yo^r loueing letters & haue had them read in o^r meetings to the refreshment of o^r selues & other ffreinds in heareing & considering yo^r declared loue vnto vs, cheifly, and aboue all things desireing of the Lord that by the operation of his Power, wee may grow vp togeather with yo^u in the Life & power of God to the praise of his great & glorious Name, & to the Establishment of our Euerlasting Vnitty & ffellowship in the same Life & Power.

The foure bookes yo^u sent by Lott Ricketts vpon the ship Comfort wee haue receaued & haue allso disposed of them according to yo^r order, and wee are allso greatly reefreshed & gladed to heare that thruth prospers so well Amongst yo^u in England, then which nothing can be more wellcome tydings vnto vs, and wee allso in some measure can giue yo^u the like intelligence, Euerlasting praises be giuen to God, for since our deare ffreind G. ffox his departure hence (whose comeing amongst vs hath been verry prosperous) our meetings which at that time was not large, are at this time (as wee suppose), more then doubled, and seuerall of them (wee doe beleue) are verry true & sauerie ffreinds; & not only so (but as wee Judge) a large conuincement is vpon many who as yett stands off, And some theare is amongst vs as well as amongst yo^u that through their miscarages & disobedience doth giue aduantage to the enemies to speake reproachfully of truth which at some times doth cause some dissettlements amongst vs, and doth so at this present allso, wee being not many in number, but as the power of God hath in a large measure expelled all former slights of the enemy and cleared vp the vnderstandings of ffreinds to a new gathering into his truth, & so wee trust that by the same power, all things that are contrary to

¹ The original letter is among Bristol MSS. (v. 110). Bowden used the letter in his *History* (i. 356), but omitted all the live portions of the communication. For a *précis* of Bristol MSS. v., see THE JOURNAL, ix.

truth & the prosperitty theareof, shall be brought to nought, and wee doe hope that he that hath begun the worke amongst vs will carry it on in power to the Eternall praise of his Name, and to the Euerlasting welfare of such as abide in it,) And for the miscarriages of any that come from Bristoll to the disadvantage of truth in theese partes, wee know non, except one Edward Beare who last yeare ariued heare in the Katheren of bristoll whose remarckable & sad end wee thinke heare to note out, because he gaue as good a testimony for truth as Judas did when he brought backe the mony & sayd he had betrayd Innocent blood ;

Wee haue been informed that he the s^d Beare did formerly make profession of the truth amongst ffreinds in bristoll or elsewhere, and that some ffreinds haueing intrusted him with goods shipt vpon the ship Kathern he sought to defraud them the manner how peraduenture is better knowne to some amongst you then to vs heare, as for any profession of truth in this place wee neuer saw any from him, but his behaiour alltogeather a disboyest drunken fellow (yett reported by some to haue been a quaker sometime) and haueing spent & imbesselled what he had gotten by the voyage, he tooke another voiage to New England and there insinuated him selfe into the fauour of freinds & through craft & deceit gott some ffreinds to intrust him with goods to the uallew of twenty L^{bs} of tobacco that he the s^d Beare was to lade in Virginia for the afores^d freinds accoumpt, & twenty l^{bs} more the s^d Beare promised to lade vpon his owne accoumpt & consigne to the afors^d freind to put to sale for his own vse, and the New England freind engaged to send heither a vessell at the crop for transport of the afors^d tobaccoes which at the time appointed was performed by him of New England, in meantime this s^d Beare comes to Virginia & heare marries a wife by the prist (a harlott) & followes strongly his ould course of druncknes & was of great esteeme amongst the druncken Route but in conclution towards the shiping time this Beare buried his wife & sudenly after fell sick him selfe, and in the time of his sickness the wrath of God (without all doubt) haueing seased strongly vpon his soule, he was sorely distrest in spiritt & complained exceeding much of the wrong he had

Beare donn to honest men by fraude & deceit & tould searall
 about him as wee are credibly informed how he had been
 one of them called quakers, & had been in a fine state
 and while he continued in that condition he prospered
 much both inwardly & outwardly & had he continewed
 in it he had Obtained Eternall Life, but falling from it he
 had incurred Eternall Damnation which must need
 follow, and he sent for Thomas Jordan & his wife &
 complained of his Estate & tould them how well it was with
 him in the dayes he continewed in truth & s^d if God would
 restore him he hoped to become a new man & pretty much
 more to that purpose, & Thomas Jordan tould him if he
 did performe his promise made vnto the Lord it might be
 well with him againe, if nott a worse thing might befall
 him & so left him at that time hoping he had left him
 in a pretty good condition, and within 3 or 4 howers after
 comes the Master of the New England Vessell for the
 freight afore mentioned which Beare not being in a
 capassity of performing, fell into his ould anguish of
 spiritt & soone after attempted to hang himselfe, which
 at that time was preuented, but he tould some that
 within few dayes he should be a dreadfull spectacle to
 many which shortly came to pass, for not longe after
 there being in the house but one person his mother in
 Law he bids her fetch him a little warme broth presently
 & while the fire was blowing vp in the next roome &
 little broth hotte in a pottinger, he the s^d Beare slypt out
 the runing string of his drawers & tyed it about his necke
 and go to the rayle of the bed, & so with one knee vpon
 the bed & the other leg vpon the ground crouching he
 hangd him selfe the woman comeing with her broth
 being all amased, had not power to pluc him downe, but
 runs out to cry for helpe, in mean time Beare was dead
 where they lett him hang till a Jury came to see him, the
 new England man hearing of this took certifiycatt of
 Beares death & returned home without his freight, &
 Beare his sayings & confession & clearing of the truth was
 a publike thing & made known to the Jury & so published
 abroad as without doubt hath been very seruisable to
 truth. heare is allso to be noted that a little after his
 death our freinds William Yarrott . . . [paper torn]
 Beare dwelt & his mother in Law tould W^m Yarrott that

Beare tould her 3 dayes before his death that he had a fire burning with in him ;

Seuerall other things remarkeable hath here falne out this yeare as a Prist ariued heare in the ship samuell & Marie of bristoll & hangd himseife, allso our Nancemum prist setting into a rayling discourse against the quakers & makeing his boast that shortely he would reconuert all the new conuinced quakers, before he could finish his worke he had to doe, was straingly drowned in a little smale creeke that runs through a Marsh, & a Jury sate aboute his death. All which things haue draune the minds of many into a serious consideration of their estate & makes for the prosperitty of truth which wee trust the Lord will carry on in this perverce & wilde place, in which truth wee kindly bid yo^u farewell and remaine yo^r ffreinds & bretheren

Nancemum the 25th of
4th mo : 1674.

WILL DENSON.²
WILL: YARRATT.³
THO: JORDAN.⁴

or ffreind Will Yarrett whose occations weare such as could not stay the wrighting heareof desired to haue his deare Loue remembred vnto yo^u & all ffreinds, & wee desire to haue or dear loue recomended to all ffreinds accordingly.

WILL DENSON.
WILL YARRATT.
THO: JORDAN.

[Addressed]

ffor

Dennis Hollister.
Thomas Gouldney.
Thomas Callowhill.

Dwelling in
bristoll.

[Endorsed]

1674 ffrom freinds in Nancimund.

² Among Women Friends of Nansemond who sign an Epistle to Women Friends of London, in 1679 (Box Meeting MSS.) are Frances Denson, the elder and the younger, Katherine Denson, and Sarah Denson.

³ Given by Bowden (*Hist.* i. 357) as *Parrott*, also in THE JOURNAL, ix. Margaret Yarratt signs an epistle from Nancemond in 1679. Yarratt is doubtless correct.

⁴ For Thomas Jordan (1634-1699), see *Camb. Jul.*

Women's Meetings in Cornwall in the Early Days of the Society

THE active and responsible part which women took, at least in some localities, in the conduct and maintenance of the Society, is illustrated by a folio minute book, preserved at the Meeting House, Falmouth (numbered "3"), and lately examined by the writer. It contains the minutes of the Quarterly Meeting of Women Friends for the County of Cornwall from 1688 to 1734. On the 10th of Fifth Month, 1688, met at Marazion, they "thought it nesenary to have a Book for the use of the weomens conserns for this countey which is hear provided for Recording of busness from each perticuler meeting or anything els which att these meeting[s] they have to comunicat together in the wisdom and counsell of god." The Meetings were held in irregular rotation at Marazion, Falmouth, Tregonjevs [St. Austell], Liskard, and occasionally at Minver. The names of those attending from the various Meetings were set down:—sometimes twenty-five or more, at others dropping to nine or ten in number. Amongst these may be noted some women of influence and leadership, and others who were ancestresses of families still known amongst us:—Margery Peters, Alice Bealing, Ursula Stephens, Tabitha Fox, etc.

We are already in 1688 in the second generation of Quakerism, and the stress of the earnest efforts made by these women, for they were deeply in earnest, was perhaps more to preserve the little communities of Friends in faithfulness to their high standard of life, than to extend their borders or influence the world beyond. Their care was given in the first place to the needs of the poor and sick, for whom a collection was brought to each meeting, and disbursed through trusted hands.

But their vigilant thought ranged over the interests of their sisters in the various Meetings in the county, and they issued letters of exhortation, warning and entreaty

to them, as occasion arose. One such long epistle is entered on the minutes :—

Given forth by Women Friends att the Q.M. held at Merrizion, 10.5.1688. And directed to the women friends belonging to the severall meetings of this county of cornewall.

Dearly Belloved freinds whome the Lord in his Infenite Love have made ptakers in Any mesure of his divine psence & whoe have ben senceable of y^e operation of his power. by which hee maks knowne his requirings. . . .

It goes on to speak of the

greate neede for all to waite from day to day for y^e Arrisinge of Life from God. . . . y^e none of us may take up a rest short of y^e perpetuall habitation of Life . . .

and concludes

in y^e Love of God we Dearly salute you & bid you Farewell.

Singed in the behalf of the meeting.

They took note also of cases of misconduct, even issuing a public testimony against offenders—perhaps subject to the approval of the men's Meeting, although this is not clear. Thus :—

A Testemony given forth from the weomens meetinge of falmouth against the excessive & vaine conversation of Jone — late of truro [Truro] who did frequent our meetings; but being gon from the truth after having given her privat admonition and Reproufe itt become their consarn to testify publiquely against her & her evell conversation as being out of the unity of the truth—which testemony was first Recomendend the quarterly meeting held att falmouth the 24 & 25 dayes of the 11th month 1687—by which meetings advice itt was more att large sett forth and Published.

The earlier pages of the book are written with exceeding care and neatness, and full minutes are recorded down to about 1712, after which there is little but lists of names of representatives and collections; but the meetings seem to have been regularly held to the close of the volume in 1733. After the earlier years the range of localities was extended: Looe, and later Penzance, were appointed as places for holding the Q.M., and even Port Isaac; Minver early dropped out.

Great was their concern that the "pure TRUTH be kept clean," and that all should wait on the Lord for wisdom. They took up also and enjoined some of the testimonies of Friends, especially that against tithes, and did not mince their words on such matters, writing of

"that unjust & abominable practis of paying Tythes to Priests . . . neither to alow nor Conive att it to bee don for any of us"; this is taken from a minute of 1690/91.

A Minute of 1714 (12th of 2 mo., at Falmouth), may in conclusion be noted:—

The Lord haveinge favored us with this opertunity to see one anothers facces & to sitt together upon thys solem & waighty ocation; in that we have ben mutally comforted together through the feeling of that power by which our life is maintained toward the god of our helpe for wch Remains an obligation on our souls to Bless his holy name.

R. HINGSTON FOX.

Hampstead.

Philadelphia v. New York

A QUAKER preacher from Philadelphia is a strong defender of the City of Brotherly Love. He loves to tell this tale: One day, a few years ago, on one of his numerous trans-Atlantic trips, he was introduced to a circle of idling passengers on the deck of the steamer as "A Philadelphia Quaker." A clever young lady from New York was of the group, and immediately said, "Oh, you are from Philadelphia! slow town that."

The smiling response was, "Some people think it slow, but I do not!" Then the battle of words was on, while each proceeded to prove the point before the impromptu audience.

Our modest Friend spoke of the great textile mills and other vast industries of his city, and was met at every turn by his clever antagonist. Finally, he told of the immense locomotive and car works, without which these United States, when it travels, might have to get out and walk. Then came the clincher. He intimated that when he wanted to show his child something really antique and interesting, as the relic of a by-gone age, he would take her over to New York and introduce her to the novel sight of a dingy old horse-car. That was humiliating to the girl from the metropolis, but she said, "I know, but our street-car service is getting better every day."

"I am glad to hear that," replied the Philadelphia brother, "for you need it."

Then impetuously said the New York champion, "We have lately started a line in Brooklyn that is very fast—it goes so fast that it runs down one small boy every minute."

"O, that is nothing," drawled the Philadelphian, "over in our city our small boys are quick enough to get out of the way."

WILLIAM C. ALLEN, in *The Westernian*, 11 mo., 1913.

John Nichol, Diarist, and Early Friends in Scotland

JOHAN NICHOL, who flourished from 1590 to 1667,¹ was a Writer to the Signet and Notary Public. He compiled a Diary in two volumes from 1637 to 1649, and from 1650 to 1657. Vol. i. has been lost, but vol. ii. (1650-1657) was printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1836. The following are his principal references to Friends:—

"In this moneth of Januar 1655 & in sundry ither monethis preceeding & mony monethis following, thair rais up great numberis of that damnable sect of the Quakeris; quha, being deludit by Sathan, drew mony away to their professioun, both men & women, sindrie of them walking throw the streitis all naikit except their schirtis, crying 'This is the way, walk ye into it'—utheris crying out: 'The day of salvatioun is at hand, draw men to the Lord, for the sword of the Lord is drawn, & will not be put up till the enymeis of the Lord be destroyed.' . . .

"Sum of the Englische sodgeris, & sum Scottis men & wemen being deludit & possest with the same spirite of error . . . the evil spirite prevailit with much pepill & chargit thame to deny all ministerial teaching & ordinances, togidder with all notionall knowledge, formarlie gayned by use of such meanis, to becum as thocht thair haid niver learned anything thairby savinglie & to lay ane new ground-work, viz to be taught of God within ourselfis, by wayting upone ane inward licht" (page 147).

"In the end of Apryll & beginning of May 1656, multitudes of Quakeris increst, both men & wemen, alsweill Scottis as Englische, & publictlie schew thameselfis throw the streitis of Edinburgh, & making twyse at leist in the week thair pretendit sermoundis, & hortationeses, at the Castell hill of Edinburgh: to quhome resortit much pepill, sum to heir & sie, & sum utheris to reverence thair judgementis, errouris & opiniounes. And the divisioun of the Ministrie in thair judgementis & opiniounes did much contribute to the incre of these errouris" (p. 177).

The diarist also notes the visit of two Friends to Westminster Hall, 14 May, 1655 (p. 153), the attempt of Susanna Pearson to raise the dead (p. 193), and the arrest of Lord Swinton at a Friends' house in King Street, London in 1660 (p. 296).

That which is hath been already; and that which is to be hath already been; and God seeketh again that which is passed away.—*Eccles. iii. 15.*

¹ So states *D.N.B.*; it seems a long time for a man to "flourish." Nichol is quoted by M. C. Cadbury in her *Robert Barclay*.

Joseph Rule, the Quaker in White

REFERRING to the account of Joseph Rule from the pen of J. J. Green in *THE JOURNAL*, vol. ii., p. 64, some notes made by the late Elizabeth Gurney Dimsdale add the further particulars, that he had a white pony which "he cared for himself from preference, having no servant," and that he used to have religious conversations "with some of those engaged at Windsor Castle." A letter is preserved in a MS. commonplace book originally belonging to Joseph Cockfield of Upton, from which the following extracts are taken:—

Hammersmith, 23rd of 9th month, 1760.

I sweetly salute you all in Gospel love, as it flows forth from me from the precious Fountain of Life and Love, Christ Jesus, Who draws the redeemed ones with the spiritual cords of the Divine love to Himself and one another, in which this holy channel runs sweetly from friend to friend, and this preserves and keeps up the peaceable harmony and blessed unity of friends, whereby they walk and live together in the holy Truth without jarring . . . and are always willing to be helpful to one another, both in spirituals and temporals, and this pure principle of love does not flatter, nor deceive, but is tender and compassionate to all mankind, and if a brother slip aside, it gently reproves, and labours in the Spirit of Love and meekness to bring home again a straying Sheep to the true Shepherd.

Oh my dear friends here is the sweet and comfortable vertue of this divine love in the true Church of Christ, and herein is the gospel and kingdom of our blessed Lord. But oh there is a great work to be done in the souls of the sons and daughters of men by the holy sanctifying Spirit to bring them into this precious and evangelical state of pure love. . . .

I went to Maidenhead . . . from thence went afoot to Windsor, went into the Castle, and visited the Lady Pomfret,¹ had some religious conversation with her and another gentlewoman, and they seemed glad to see me, and there came in Thomas Penn's wife and daughter,¹ whom I

¹Thomas Penn (1701/2-1775) was one of the younger sons of William Penn, and at this time Proprietor of Pennsylvania. He left Friends, was very rich, living in London, and was somewhat autocratic in dealing with the Province, being in very frequent conflict with its Quaker Assembly. But he had some philanthropic instincts, and at Dr. Fothergill's suggestion helped in various good efforts in Philadelphia. Thomas Penn married, in 1751, Lady Juliana Fermor (1729-1801), daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Pomfret. His daughters were Juliana (1753-1772), *aff.* Baker; Louisa Hannah (1756-1766); and Sophia Margaretta (1764-1847), *aff.* Stuart. It was probably the two Julianas who were at Windsor on a visit to their relative, the Countess of Pomfret.

See Jenkins, *The Family of William Penn*, 1899.

was glad to see, and then I went to visit a young Lady that was sick, that desired to see me, and the Lady's desired me to come and see them again; and from thence I went to Staines, and from there Joseph Rock took me in his chaise to Witham. . . . At Hammersmith went to visit several gentlemen that desired to have conversation with me. . . . The Lord hath wonderfully preserved me and prospered my way. . . . Farewell in much love from

JOSEPH RULE.

R. HINGSTON FOX.

The following particulars, given in *The British Friend*, 1852, p. 272, are copied from an old book of manuscripts, bearing the date of 1785, being transcribed from the public newspapers, narrating the appearance of Joseph Rule in the streets of London on a fast-day, the 17th of 2^d Month, 1758 :—

TO THE PRINTER.

Sir,—On Friday morning last, about ten o'clock, an old man, seemingly upwards of seventy years of age, clothed in white apparel, went through the city preaching repentance to the people.² He began first at the Exchange, and walked in the middle of the streets with his hat under his arm (which was also white) and a Bible in his hand. He had a long white beard and white hair; also a bald head. His appearance was awful and venerable: and from his countenance it appeared he had something weighty on his mind, often stopping and preaching. Sometimes the sum and substance of what he there delivered, as near as I can recollect, was as follows :—

“O England, England, England, thy sins, thy iniquities and thy transgressions, which are very great and many, from the youth to grey hairs, seem to cry loudly to heaven for vengeance. O England, repent, repent, repent, and turn from the evil of thy doings. Cease to do evil and learn to do good. And fast a solemn fast, as Nineveh did at the preaching of Jonah, according to the Holy Scriptures of truth. Remember that when the king and his nobles proclaimed that fast, they turned from the evil of their ways, and put violence out of their hands. Therefore this day fast a solemn fast as Nineveh did, and cry mightily unto the Lord that he may be pleased to have mercy and compassion on thee, and cause his righteous judgments to be revealed.”

When he had concluded he attempted to go into the king's palace but the sentinel refused him admittance. Then he went round to the back gate, but before he arrived there, orders were given not to admit him; I suppose in order to prevent any mob assembling in the palace yard. As soon as he was refused admittance at this last place he put on his hat, and said, “Then my work is done.”

² For a similar religious exercise, in 1753, see *Account of Ann Mercy Bell*.

The uncommon appearance of the old man induced a variety of sentiments from the multitude; and although it was very odd, yet I could not observe but it was decent and awful; and upon inquiry I find that he is one of the people called Quakers, who for many years has lived the life of a hermit in Wales, by the side of a mountain, and is the same old man who came preaching through the city about seven years ago. His food is entirely vegetable. But what authority he has for such a public work, I will leave the learned world to judge for themselves, and conclude with part of the old man's sermon: "Let every one turn from the evil of their ways and put violence out of their hands, that the Lord may be pleased to have mercy and compassion, and cause his righteous judgments to be revealed."

NEMO.

Journal Supplement No. 12

FOR many months our valued contributor, Emily Manners, of Mansfield, Notts., has been engaged on the preparation of a biographical record of Elizabeth Hooton (c. 1600-1672), the first Quaker woman-preacher. Little has hitherto been known of this valiant Mother in Israel beyond the notices of her labour and sufferings to be found in *The Journal of George Fox*, but, lying away in the fireproof vaults at Devonshire House are numerous unpublished MSS. written by or relating to this early Friend, and Mrs. Manners has made full use of this material and of other matter prepared by the late Mary Radley, kindly placed at her disposal by Francis E. Radley. She has also made diligent search, with happy results, among seventeenth century records preserved in the county of Nottingham.

The readers of this Supplement will be able to follow Elizabeth Hooton in her spiritual exercises and bodily sufferings on both sides of the Atlantic and also obtain some glimpses of happenings in her family life.

Supplement No. XII. will approximate in length previous Supplements, and the prices will be as before:—

Prior to publication three shillings or seventy-five cents net.

On and after publication four shillings and sixpence or one dollar fifteen cents net.

A little Quaker boy in Pennsylvania, I believe, had been much impressed by the advertisement of a well-known baking powder. One evening, at his mother's knee, he astonished her by concluding his little prayer with the petition, "O, Lord, make me like Royal Baking Powder." She afterwards asked him what he meant by such a remarkable request. "Why, mother," said the little fellow, "is it not 'absolutely pure'?"

WILLIAM C. ALLEN in *The Westonian*, II mo., 1913.

Friends in Current Literature

AN article by Egbert C. Morland, M.D., of Arosa, Switzerland, entitled "Tuberculin Treatment in the Light of the Experience of a Generation," appears in *Transactions of the National Association for the Prevention of Consumption . . . at the Fifth Annual Conference, 1913* (London: Adland, 9½ by 7½, pp. 222, 5s. post free).

Helen Webb, M.B., a London Friend, has written one of the series of books, "Questions of Sex," entitled *Life and its Beginnings* (London: Cassell, 7½ by 4½, pp. 137, 2s. 6d. net). Dr. Webb's book is intended for girls under twelve.

Dr. Rendel Harris, since the publication of his "Dioscuri in the Christian Legends," and "The Cult of the Heavenly Twins," has been pursuing further enquiries into "Dioscurism," and now presents some of the results obtained in another volume which he entitles *Boanerges* (Cambridge University Press, 9 by 5½, pp. 424, 15s. net). He records traces of twin-cult in Africa, North and South America, Japan, Polynesia, Australia, India, Egypt, etc.

A History of Pennsylvania, by Allen C. Thomas, A.M., Professor of History in Haverford College, Pa., just published, is very instructively and attractively written (Boston, Mass.: Heath, 7½ by 5½, pp. 312). The break-up of the text into chapters and headed paragraphs adds greatly to the ease with which the student can find his way about, and the index is full and good. There are numerous illustrations. The author thus concludes:—

"The purpose of this book is not only to give an outline of the history of the great State; but so to place the panorama of her history before the reader as to arouse and to strengthen a determination to take part in all movements which forward the best interests and welfare of her citizens."

A few slips will doubtless be corrected in the next edition. West-town School was founded in 1799, as given on p. 201, and not 1794 (p. 116n). The armour-portrait of William Penn is "attributed to Sir Peter Lely" (p. 15). Perhaps the author was thinking of Lely's portrait of Sir William.

In the *Nineteenth Century and After*, for December, there is an article on "A Japanese Gulliver," by Wilson Crewdson, M.A., F.S.A., and one on "Bulgaria and Her Traducers" by Henry Marriage Wallis.

The Report for 1912 of the Japan Book and Tract Society, of which our Friend, George Braithwaite, is Secretary, is to hand. G. B.'s address is 3 Yuraku Cho Nichome, Kojimachi, Tokyo.

The Western Daily Press (Bristol), dated 22 Oct., reviewing Stanley's book on the Ejected Ministers, entitled *In Days of Old*, has a paragraph headed "The 'Worth' of Bristol Congregations," which states:—

"Among the chronicles of the earlier part of the eighteenth century are some curious notes on the 'worth' of some of these Bristol congregations. One Independent congregation is put down as worth £100,000, another £400,000, Broadmead, £50,000. The joint sum from five congregations was reckoned at £770,000, besides which there is 'a great Body of Quakers, about 2000, and their wealth is not less than £500,000.'"

Notes and Queries for September 27 has a one-and-a-half-column notice of the Devonshire House Reference Library and its work, signed by the Editor, John Collins Francis.

There is a short but appreciative essay on John Woolman, in *Clío, a Muse, and other Essays*, by George M. Trevelyan (London: Longmans, 9½ by 6, pp. 200, 4s. 6d. net).

In *The Hibbert Journal* for October (London: Williams & Norgate; and Boston, Mass.: Sherman), mention is made of the last Swarthmore Lecture—"Social Service: Its Place in the Society of Friends."

"While deeply interesting throughout, it is remarkable as showing how far in advance of their time certain prominent Friends have been on the practical side. George Fox advocated Almshouses, recommended something not unlike the Nature Schools of which we now hear so much, and, more remarkable still, suggested that there should be set up in each market town a register for employers requiring labour and labourers in search of work."

No. clxxxviii. of "The World's Classics," published by the Oxford University Press, is *Selected Poems of John Greenleaf Whittier*, 1s. net.

Ernest Minett Palser, M.A., senior English Master of the Westminster City School, and a Friend, has recently edited a volume of hymns, entitled *A New School Hymnal* (London: Harrap, 6 by 3½, pp. 288, 1s. net).

Outlines of British-Israel Truth is the title of a pamphlet by John Padbury Gillett, J.P., of Banbury, Oxon, recently issued.

Friends' Book Supply, of Wichita, Kansas, has for disposal in handy form, a collection of doctrinal statements, entitled *The Declaration of Faith of the Society of Friends in America*. This fifty-page pamphlet contains (i.) "Some Essential Truths," adopted in 1902 by the Five Years Meeting, (ii.) "The Richmond Declaration of Faith" of 1887, and (iii.) George Fox's Letter to the Governor of Barbados, 1671.

Rider & Son, of Paternoster Row, London, have published a book by Ethel L. Urlin, entitled *A Short History of Marriage: Marriage Rites, Customs, and Folklore in Many Countries and All Ages* (7½ by 5, pp. 276, 3s. 6d. net). In the chapter "Old English Marriage Customs," there is this paragraph on Quaker Weddings, as misleading as it is antiquated:—

"Quakers, as a rule, marry among themselves, and their weddings are conducted very simply. The following injunction is found in their *Book of Christian Discipline* [query, where?] 'Friends are advised against running into excessive, sumptuous or costly entertainments at marriage dinners, a great part of the cost of which would be better employed in relieving the necessities of the poor.'

"When two 'friends' signify at one of the monthly meetings their intention of marrying, two men and two women are appointed by the meeting to inquire into the possible existence of any legal impediments. Marriages are solemnised at one of the usual week-day meetings, no ring is used, and there is no ceremony except the pronouncement of a simple vow by the contracting parties: man and woman using the same words and making the same promises. A broken engagement is most strongly condemned by Quakers, and parents are exhorted to do all in their power to prevent their children from being married outside the society."

It is greatly to be regretted that a book of such pretensions as *The Quakers in England and America*,¹ the materials for which must have taken many months to collect, should be so carelessly put together and allowed to go forth with so many inaccuracies.² The author, Charles F. Holder, LL.D., of Pasadena, California, has a warm regard for the Society of Friends and its history. A previous work by the same author, "The Holders of Holderness," has been largely drawn upon, and one would have preferred less reference to one family in a general history of Quakerism. Two chapters of fifty pages in the middle of the book are devoted to the biographies of John Bright and Mrs. Russell Sage, as representative of "Quaker influence and inheritance" in England and America. By all means honour to whom honour is due, but the two named will probably appear to the reader less representative than in the opinion of the author.

To our regret, Dr. Holder places Friends' views regarding the oath among non-essentials. He writes (p. 123) :—

"The Quakers were nearly three centuries ahead of their time in demands for reform, yet they made a point of certain things which from a modern standpoint were not worthy the time and thought given to them. One was their refusal to swear. . . . An affirmation has all the essentials of an oath." See also p. 191.

Many well-known names are mangled almost out of recognition: Joshua Cole, Annie Downer, Launceston, Francis Canfield, Susanne Fisher, I. Tiffin, Joseph Lawrence (Lancaster), Edmund Pease, Tange, Sir John Grattan, Edward Hubberthorn, Thomas Bowne, Contentuca (N.C.), John Burrough, Eaton Street, Baltimore, John M. Fry, author of "The Period

¹ The book is published by the Neuner Company of Los Angeles, New York and London, 9½ by 6½, pp. 669, \$6. The sub-title reads, "The Religious and Political History of the Society of Friends from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century." The book is dedicated "To Mrs. Russell Sage, Philanthropist, Descendant of the Pioneer Quaker Ministers Christopher Holder and Peleg Slocum, the Quaker Governor Wanton of Rhode Island, and of Captain Miles Standish." There are numerous illustrations, as to which see THE JOURNAL, x. 293.

² This review was written before seeing the trenchant criticism of this work appearing in the last number of the *Bulletin F.H.S. Phila.*

of *Quakerism*," Sir John Lister, James B. Clark (Mayor of Doncaster), Hannah Kilbane, Mary Asken. A quotation from *Eminoli* turns out to be a quotation from Elizabeth Emmott's "Story of Quakerism" !

Among many extraordinary pieces of information, we are told that Sir William Penn became a Quaker (p. 171), that William Penn was arrested as he was returning from George Fox's funeral (p. 223, and contrast p. 515), John Woolman visited America in 1746 (p. 245), that the death of George III. and accession of Victoria took place in the same year (p. 247), that "Ireland has in Dublin a strong half-yearly meeting which was established in 1670, and has continued without break since 1793" (p. 263), that Neal Dow was an English Friend (p. 271), that Devonshire House was destroyed by the Fire of London (p. 282), and that "a large house known as the 'Bull and the Mouth,' was rented by Martin C. Grand near Aldgate, and meetings held in the hotel" (p. 99).

Chapters XXV. to XXIX. are quite interesting—War-time, Home Life, Ways and Customs, Literature, Activities. In the Literature section, the order of "Friends with a literary gift" is curious, beginning with Joseph Bevans Braithwaite, and ending with John ap John, and containing, in this succession, Isaac Braithwaite, Thomas Chalkley, Daniel Wheeler, Margaret Fell, Stephen Grellett (elsewhere *Grellet* and *Grellette*), Thomas Pole, John Burrough, Christopher and Anthony Holder. We do not recognise "'The Journal' of Isaac Hammer."

There are several kindly and appreciative references to the work of the Devonshire House Reference Library.

In *How the Church was Reformed in England*, by Gertrude Hess (London: Mowbray), a book written for children from the High Anglican standpoint, we read (page 123):—

"Meanwhile the Puritans filled the places of the clergy. Sometimes the minister would be an Independent; sometimes a Presbyterian; sometimes even an unbaptized Quaker. Soldiers, cobblers, bakers, and tradesmen of all kinds preached as they liked. There was neither order nor reverence anywhere."

It is, of course, quite a mistake to state that Quakers acted as Parish Priests, as the words seem to imply, though they often addressed audiences from the pews. The last sentence is surely too sweeping.

The question whether the wearing of a distinctive dress by the Friends of fifty to one hundred years ago was helpful to the life and work of the Society comes to the fore again in that delightfully written book *The Quaker Bonnet, A Child-Story*, by K.K.K. (London: Headley, 7½ by 5, pp. 265, 3s. 6d. net). It seems to us that the head-dress of Aunt Deborah Denton was a distinct help to her in her late-in-life attempts at practical philanthropy, though the wearer says:—

"I have modelled my cap after the fashion of Elizabeth Fry's, it is true, but I have not modelled my life upon hers . . . She was instrumental not only in having many of the abuses of prison life abolished, but in saving many souls. I have never done anything but please myself, and am no good to anybody. . . . The bonnet is the sign and symbol of something that I do not possess. I have no right to

wear it. I am not worthy of it. I must contrive some other shape instead."

The reader will be glad to find that Aunt Deborah altered her style of life and not her style of bonnet. The book will be enjoyed by old and young alike. The frontispiece is the work of Elisabeth Brockbank.

The story of the wonderful missionary work of Joseph John Armistead and his helpers among islands of northern seas, begun in the author's book "*Piloted*,"¹ is continued in *Ten Years near the Arctic Circle* (London: Headley, 7½ by 5, 3s. 6d. net). The telling of the "old, old story" still appeals to the hearts of men.

Friends' Year Book, 1914, published by the Representative Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting ("Hicksite"), will be found very useful to those who enquire respecting this Branch of Friends. The Central Bureau of this Y.M., under the care of Jane P. Rushmore, is located at 150 North Fifteenth Street; the Advancement Committee is under the able management of Henry W. Wilbur, at 140 North Fifteenth Street.

"Orthodox" Philadelphia also publishes a useful *Almanac* (to be had from the Tract Association of Friends, 304 Arch Street). Half of this 36-page pamphlet is occupied by matter which gives title to the book—"Religious and Moral."

The London Meeting for Sufferings recently decreed the discontinuance of *Friends' Year Book*, issued from London, as it did not receive sufficient encouragement to warrant the expense incurred.

With its number for Twelfth Month, *Friends' Witness to Scripture Truth* completes its sixth year of publication. The Editors are Alice Mary Hodgkin and Samuel Fennell Hurnard, and the Publisher is Augustus Diamond, B.A., of 91, Albert Road, Ilford, Essex. The price is 1s. 6d. per annum, post free. An editorial contains the following:—

"It is a most solemn fact, that while some other Quaker publications in this country remain true to the deity of our Lord, and to His substitutionary sacrifice for our sins, we do not know of one, apart from our paper, which ventures to assert the authority of the Bible as the written word of God, and to oppose the subtle attacks of the Higher Criticism."

Further issues, Nos. 3 and 4, of the "Teachers and Taught Popular Reprints," are *Work with Young Teachers*, by Muriel Evan Spicer, and *The Verities of the Faith and the Modern Point of View*, by Gerald K. Hibbert, M.A., B.D., 1d. each, from Headley Brothers.

The Study Circle Movement is making rapid progress among Friends. The Committee which guides the Movement (Hon. Sec., Sylvia F. Marriage, Courleigh, Reigate, Surrey), has issued several pamphlets, copies of which may be obtained from the Hon. Sec. at one penny each or 9d. per dozen.

¹ To be obtained from Headley Brothers at 3s. 6d. net and 1s. net.

Study Circles : their Place and Aim, Characteristics and Leadership, by Raymond Whitwell, M.A., *Outline Programme for the Use of Circles Studying "The Person of Christ in the New Testament,"* and a similar Outline Programme on the Christian Discipline of Friends, Part II., Christian Practice.

There is no lack of aids to study.—Eleanor D. Wood, M.A., has written, as "Adult School Study Series No. 2," *The Life and Ministry of Paul the Apostle* (London, Headley, 7½ by 5, pp. 261, paper 9d. net; cloth boards 2s. 6d. net). There is an introduction superadded, written by Herbert G. Wood, M.A., and the book concludes with a map and two full indexes.

In *The Dial* of November last, there are some personal recollections of Joseph Henry Shorthouse, written by Mrs. Phillp.

With its issue for December, 1913, *The British Friend* (1843-1913) comes to an end, or rather we should say, passes to a resurrection in *Present Day Papers*, to be edited by Rufus M. Jones, of Haverford, Pa., and published monthly.

The following are to hand as this article goes to press :—

John Woolman : His Life and Our Times, by W. Teignmouth Shore (London : Macmillan, 8 by 5½, pp. 273, 5s. net).

A Quaker Warrior : The Life of William Hobson, by William King Baker (London : Headley, 7¾ by 5, pp. 178, 2s. 6d. net).

Christ and War, by William E. Wilson, B.D. (London : Clarke, 7¾ by 5, pp. 210, 1s. 6d. net).

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, November, 1913, vol. v., no. 2.

Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania, vol. ii., by Thomas Allen Glenn, containing a portion of the genealogical notes of the late Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia, 10½ by 6½, pp. xii. + 123.

Article by Mabel R. Brailsford in *The Glasgow Herald* of January 3, under the heading of "Seventeenth Century Militants."

Lessons on the Kingdom of Israel, by Caroline C. Graveson, B.A., in "Teachers and Taught" Text Books, 1s. 6d. net.

NORMAN PENNEY.

A German translation of J. S. Rowntree's "Society of Friends, Its Faith and Practice," prepared by Margarethe Stähelin, has just come from the press of F. W. Köhler, of Elberfeld. The title is *Die Gesellschaft der Freunde, ihr Glauben und Leben*. This little book of about ninety pages can be obtained from the Central Offices of the Society of Friends, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Copies of the French translation of the same book—*La Foi et la Pratique des Quakers*—may also be had at the same address.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D.=The Reference Library of London Y.M., at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Camb *Jul.*=*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

D.N.B.=*The Dictionary of National Biography*.

F.P.T.=*"The First Publishers of Truth,"* published by the Friends Historical Society, 1907.

H.S.P.=The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, located at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

WM. PEGG, PAINTER ON CHINA.—
In THE JOURNAL, iii. 3, there is a reference to William Pegg and his artistic work. In *The Queen* for December 27, "there are illustrations of the work of "Quaker Pegg," with a brief biography.

"William Pegg (1775-1851) was a member of the Society of Friends. He followed Billingsley at the Duesbury Works in 1796, when Billingsley left to go to Pinxton. . . . He painted in the naturalistic style, but had a mannerism of his own. Jewitt says of him that he 'surpassed in faithful copying of nature in single branches and flowers and in autumnal borders.' Owing to religious scruples Pegg gave up decorating."

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WILLIAM MILLER, ENGRAVER.—

In the Corporation Museum in Lady Stair's House, Edinburgh, recently opened, there is a "Miller Room," called after William Miller (1796-1882), the well-known Quaker engraver. "The great bulk of his work was done after Turner, and the examples of it which adorn this small room are of a very dainty description" (*The Scotsman*, Nov. 18, 1913).

STATUE OF ELIZABETH FRY.—
The offer to the City of London by a lady, who desires to remain anonymous, of a statue of Elizabeth Fry, the prison reformer, has been accepted, and it has been decided by the City Corporation to place the memorial under the dome at the head of the grand staircase at the Central Criminal Court. Earl Beauchamp, First Commissioner of Works, who made the offer to the City on behalf of the unknown donor, suggested the erection of the statue in the locality of the old Newgate Prison, and the decision to place the gift in the Central Criminal Court, which occupies the site of Newgate Prison, is a fitting one. The memorial is the work of Mr. Alfred Drury, R.S.

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PRESBYTERIANS AND THEIR HISTORY.—Our friends the Presbyterians have recently inaugurated "The Presbyterian Historical Society of England." A room for the reception of MSS., etc., has been secured in the Regent Square church, and various items of historical interest have already been donated.

"The Executive is alive to the

fact that, for a time at least, some 'rubbish' is sure to be offered, and therefore it must guard against the danger of storing other people's 'lumber' and calling it 'historical remains'!"

[The F.H.S. welcomes "rubbish," if placed, without reserve, in the hands of the Secretaries!]

The annual subscription is five shillings, the Treasurer is Mr. Andrew Cochrane, Avenue House, Anlaby Road, Hull, and the Hon. Sec. Rev. Alex. Jeffrey, 39, Poppleton Road, Leytonstone, London, E.

PENN FAMILY.—In 1538 Mrs. Sibell Penn was engaged at the Palace to nurse young prince Edward, afterwards Edward VI. Her apartments still exist. Born Hampden of Bucks, her epitaph states the family had been in easy circumstances 300 years. She married David Penn of Bucks, was much esteemed by Henry VIII. and all his family. She died of small pox, in the Palace, 1562. Her tomb in Hampton church has a recumbent portrait effigy and eighteen lines of laudatory epitaph in English. In 1768 Thomas Penn had these drawn and also her arms. Was she a collateral ancestress of William Penn? Lawes has much more about her, the places connected with her family, and that of her husband, also about the famous Penn ghost story (*Hist. of Hampton Court Palace*, i. 196).—ARTHUR W. DAWES.

ISAAC WATTS.—References requested to any connection, private or otherwise, between Isaac Watts (1674-1748) and Friends of his day.—ROBERT MUSCHAMP, Radcliffe, Lanes.

F.H.S. AND C.U.P.—Progress is being made with the editing of the Swarthmoor Account Book. Help has been secured for the elucidation of references to things personal, financial, agricultural, social, medicinal, etc., and the Cambridge University Press has some fifty pages in type. The title of the volume will be:—*The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall*. It will not be ready for publication till late in the year.

STANSFIELD, OF BINGLEY, YORKS.—1772, May II.—On which day appeared John Stansfield of Harding in pth of Bingley diocese of York Shalloon Weaver & affirmed upon his solemn affirmation that he is of the age of 25 years and upwards & a batchelor & intends to marry Ann Smith of Kighley in said diocese of York aged 25 years & upwards, a widow, & prayed a licence to solemnize s^d marriage in the parish church of Kighley. On the same day s^d John Stansfield one of the people called Quakers made solemn affirmation before me Tho. Carr, surrogate.—[Abstract of Original Marriage Allegation—Diocesan Registry, York.]

ERRATA.—William F. Miller points out a transposition of Northumberland and Northamptonshire on p. 232, ll. 13, 14, of the last issue. The name given on p. 227, l. 7 from foot, should be Sedgwick, and not Ledgwick, as corrected in the Index.

HATS AND HAT HONOR (ii. 89n, iv. 8, 10, 150, v. 37, 137, vi. 172, viii. 96, ix. 171, x. 44).—The

following occurs in Dr. Holder's *Quakers in England and America*, 1913, p. 484:—

"In the early part of the nineteenth century, according to William Wood in his delightful paper entitled 'Friends of the Nineteenth Century,' men often wore their hats at the dinner table.

... Thomas Hawkhurst once entered a room where some Friends were dining [and] exclaimed, throwing up his hands, 'O, sorrowful, sorrowful, a whole table full of men with their hats off.'"

MACAULAY'S QUAKER ANCESTRY AND THE MILLS FAMILY (ix. 2).—With reference to this Edward Gregory, of 143, Brynland Avenue, Bristol, writes:—

"I possess an old Diary written by a Bristolian between the years 1750-1800 or thereabouts, containing references to the Mills family, which seem to indicate that Thomas Mills had left the Society at least twenty-four years before the marriage of his daughter Selina with Zachary Macaulay in 1799.

"The extracts from the Diary are as follows:—

"March 5th, Sunday, 1775.—Thomas Mills riding through Bedminster was thrown from his Horse, returned Back and put in at my House, having his Leg bruised which prevented his proceeding to Nailsey where He intended to Preach in the Methodist way, He being Clerk of Lady Huntingdon's Chappel."

"Sept. 3, Sunday, 1775.—Lady Huntingdon's Chappel first Opened, Multitudes attended, and Multitudes could not get in."

"Some other references from the Diary may be of interest:—

"Dec. 7, 1774.—Received from Thomas Mills Madame Guion's *Short and Easy Method of Prayer* to Revise and Reprint, which I did, making some additions, viz., Extracts from Marsay and Mr. Law. Parson Catcott ordered 25 Copies, but on Seeing the New Title Page, *Worship in Spirit and in Truth*, He had such Title taken out, and the old Title replaced to these 25, a needless Singularity. The 17th Dec. Mills Employed Pyne¹ to begin printing this new Edition."

"Ap. 3, 1775.—At 6 o'clock in the Morning Sat out With Thos. Mills and Walked to Mr. Edward Fishers (Compton Greenfield) to breakfast and all three of us went to take a view of Pen-Mark, or Pen-Park Hole.² Thos. Mills and I reached Home at one o'clock, leaving Mr. Fisher to return to Compton Greenfield near Henbury."

"Aug. 24, 1775.—Read Thos. Mills New Edition of Behmen's *Way to Christ*.³

"Sept. 1, 1789.—Dined With Mr. Thos. Oakley at Thos. Mills. Oakley was the translator of a New Edition of Jacob Behmen's *Life*."

"July 19, 1800, the Diarist makes mention of Mrs. Mills (wife of Thomas Mills).

"Selina Mills, afterwards mother of the Historian, with the help of her sisters carried on the school of Hannah More in Park Street, to which she succeeded in the year 1790.

¹ A Methodist printer.

² A deep hole into which a clergyman had lately fallen, and lost his life.

³ I have a copy of this edition with the imprint—"Bath, printed by S. Hazard for J. Mills, Bookseller, Wine St., Bristol, 1775."

"There is an account in the Diary of an elopement which took place from this school, and the vigorous efforts to circumvent it made by Mary Mills (aunt of the Historian)."

THOMAS BEAVEN, OF MELKSHAM.
—In the British Museum (Add. MSS. 34727, fo. 236) there is a letter of $3\frac{1}{4}$ pages, written by Thomas Beaven, Jun., of Melksham, Oct. 12, 1706, "To the Quakers at their Monthly Meeting to be held at Warminster in the County of Wilts. Novemb. 8, 1706." This is the letter which was printed, it is said by Bohun Fox, LL.B., Vicar of Melksham, Beaven's opponent, but how exactly to the original we do not know.⁴ Beaven's letter deals with his dislike for the new discipline and his objection to the non-payment of tithes being obligatory.

AUTHOR WANTED (iii. 8).—"I expect to pass through this world but once," etc.

Queries and suggestions regarding the elusive author of these words constantly reach the Library Department at Devonshire House. Although on Calendars and elsewhere it has been attributed to Marcus Aurelius, Carlyle, Bishop Walsham How, Professor Drummond and James Simpkin of Philadelphia, the consensus of opinion is in favour of its having originated with a Friend. Both Stephen Grellet and Anthony Benezet have been stated most definitely to have been the authors, but when challenged the informant has been unable to

⁴ See Joseph Smith's *Catalogue* and *Adverse Catalogue*.

trace the words in the writings of either of these Friends. The supporter of the Anthony Benezet theory, after failing to find conclusive proof, writes, "I feel now entirely unsettled in my mind, at sea—in an open boat"!

A motto card with this quotation bears the heading "Quakers Creed"; and in *Blessed be Drudgery* the words are ascribed to "a worthy Quaker."

In *A History of Hoddesdon, in the County of Hertfordshire*, written by J. Allen Tregelles, from MSS. prepared by the late Alexander McKenzie (Hertford: Austin, 9½ by 6½, pp. 454), there is a section devoted to Friends in Hertfordshire. "Of the magistrates who had to deal with early Friends, Sir Henry Chauncy [1632-1719], the antiquarian, seems to have been specially harsh" (p. 218). Other persecuting Justices were Sir Benjamin Maddox, Bt., of Wormley, and William Fox, of Cheshunt. The author doubts the statement that Gulielma Maria Penn died at Hoddesdon, thinking it probable that her death took place "at some small place (possibly Hoggston) in Buckinghamshire" (p. 223), but the Bucks Friends' Registers state clearly that she "died at Hoddesdon, Herts."

OBITUARY.—We regret to record the loss by death of Henry Thomas Wake, of Fritchley, Quaker bookseller-antiquary, aged eighty-two; and of Dr. William E. A. Axon, of Manchester, an esteemed correspondent and contributor of information on Friendly topics, though not a Friend, aged sixty-eight.

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Nathaniel Wilmer (c. 1650-1711),

QUAKER MERCHANT AND SHIPOWNER OF LONDON, AND
FRIEND OF WILLIAM PENN; WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF
HIS BIBLE.

NATHANIEL WILMER was the second son of Captain Nathaniel Wilmer, of the parish of St. Dionis Backchurch, London (and later of Cashel, Ireland), a "citizen and grocer" of London, also described as a "citizen and armourer."

This Captain Wilmer was the third son of John Wilmer, M.A., born at Sherborne, co. Warwick, circa 1584, and for some forty-three years the Puritan incumbent of Northill, co. Bedford, and formerly curate to the celebrated Puritan divine, William Gouge, M.A. (1575-1653), of St. Anne's, Blackfriars. John Wilmer, whose ancestry will be found in the *History of the Wilmer Family*,¹ was buried in 1655, described as "minister of God's word." By his wife Mary (?) Hoget (or Hoggett), he had a family of twelve children, five of whom were clergymen in the Church of England, and of these, two were ejected for nonconformity in co. Sussex in 1662, viz., Samuel at Clapham-cum-Patching, and Thomas at Pagham. A younger brother, Isaac, was rector of Coombes in the same county, but, as Calamy informs us, died [in 1660] before the Act of Uniformity, but it is probable that he also was silenced.

Another brother was Elisha Wilmer, a "citizen and ironmonger" of London, who resided at Wapping, where

¹ Foster and Green, 1888.

he died in 1661. His only surviving daughter, Mary, the last of his family who survived the Great Plague, became a Friend, and from her the Quaker families of Mackett, Peirie and Willett descended, and the present Wilmer Mackett Willett, a clergyman of the Church of England, is also a descendant.

Of Samuel Wilmer's family, Ann married, in 1700, William Ridgeley, also a Friend, so that it will be found that descendants of three of these brothers at least became Quakers.

But to revert to Captain Nathaniel Wilmer. He was baptized at Northill in 1621, and was apprenticed to Lewis Bicker, a "citizen and grocer" of London; and in 1646, having several Wilmer relatives at Reading, of a family of town-clerks, etc., there, journeyed to Berkshire for a wife, and married Constance Sherwood, of East Hendred, of a county family connected with that of Bulstrode Whitelocke, some of which held the office of High Sheriff for their county.

Upon his marriage, Nathaniel Wilmer was settled at St. Dionis Backchurch, London; and in 1650, immediately after Cromwell's return from his work of "pacification" in Ireland, he held a Captain's commission from the Protector to raise a hundred men for transportation by way of Bristol or Chester to Ireland.

Prior to this, Wilmer's eldest son, John Wilmer, was born in London in 1647; he was later a Friend, a "citizen and merchant-taylor" of London, a silk merchant of Friday Street, and had a country home at Ealing. He died in 1723, having married thrice, into three well-known Quaker families; viz., those of Lamboll of Reading, Knight of Godmersham, and Myers of Aldingham. By his third wife, Mary Myers, he had, with other children, a daughter Grizell Wilmer (1692-1756), wife of Jonathan Gurnell (1684-1753), merchant, of London, and lessee of the Manor of Great Ealing, and friend of, and bill-discounter to, William Penn, from whom descend a great many Quaker and other families.

Captain Nathaniel Wilmer eventually settled at Cashel, in co. Tipperary, Ireland, and died there in 1654, aged thirty-three, in command, under the celebrated Colonel Richard Le Hunte, ancestor to the

present excellent Colonial Governor, Sir George Ruthven Le Hunte, K.C.M.G.

Captain Wilmer's will is dated 19 March, 1654. He refers to his two sons; John as "now in the tuition of his grandmother, Constance Sherwood [*née* Saunders, of Newbury] in the county of Berks"; and Nathaniel as "now in the tuition of his mother and my dearly-loved wife in Cashell." To these his two sons he gives lands in co. Cork, etc., amongst which were "three plow lands more or less as it was sett out and appointed to mee for my service in Ireland . . . they paying thereout the thirde part unto their mother my wife during her naturall life." He also leaves his wife interest in lands and houses at Cashel, and "my cattle, plate, household goods," etc. "To my welbeloved cozen Nathaniell Laurence² my guilt and silver rapier and to his child one silver spoone. To my trustie servant Richard Cornelius my white horse [charger, no doubt], and my wearinge clothes. I appoint my affectionate and loving wife executrix."

The will was proved by the relict Constance Wilmer at Dublin, 30 May, 1655, Colonel Richard Le Hunte and Thomas Barzey, gent. (one of the witnesses), giving a certificate or testimony that the will was that of the late Captain Wilmer.

Shortly after the Captain's death, his widow, Constance Wilmer, joined the early Quaker Church, probably through the preaching of Burrough and Howgill in 1655. In 1661, she, with her countryman, Joseph Coale of Reading, who died in prison there in 1670, aged thirty-four, addressed a quarto pamphlet to Thomas Fuller or Fulwar (1593-1667), Archbishop of Cashel, 1661-1667. It is entitled *Some Religious Affaires Signified in a Letter from one called a Quaker, to Arch-Bishop Fuller, in Ireland. Also some Queries out of Conscientious Scruples propounded to all the Bishops in general in that Nation, for satisfaction to doubtful consciences. As also some reasons shewing why we deny all other kinds of Profession of Religion, and are turned*

² He who was Puritan vicar of Keysoe, Beds., had married Wilmer's first cousin, Mary Hoget, of the family of Anthony Hoget, a former incumbent of Northill.

to this way, in which we now are scornfully called Quakers. For the Arch-Bishop of Cashel, these.

"This is a true Copy [adds Constance Wilmer] of what was delivered to Arch-Bishop Fuller the 30th day of the 8th Month, but he seemed to deny to answer it, and told constant Wilmer and Mary Pearce,³ by whom it was delivered, that he could not tell how to satisfie them, & that it was not his work to do it, but they might come to Church & conforme themselves &c. And some other discourse they had with him, but no Answer is yet had to these sober Propositions." The pamphlet treats of "The true light," "New Birth," "True Ministers Called of God," "Tithes," "Persecution," "Baptism of Infants," etc. Copies of this now very scarce pamphlet are in the libraries of Devonshire House, E.C., and Birmingham (Bevan-Naish collection).

We have no further particulars of Constance Wilmer, but that she was living at the time of her elder son's second marriage in 1684 to Phoebe Knight, of Godmersham and Dover; her age was then about sixty-two.

Nathaniel Wilmer the younger was born apparently at Cashel about 1650. He was "my young sonn" in 1654, as we have seen, and by 1686 he had settled in St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, London, as a merchant and ship-owner, and was evidently a prosperous man.

In Whitehead's *Christian Progress*⁴ we learn that he was one of the suffering Friends summoned by George Whitehead, together with the Informers, to appear before the two Commissioners appointed by the King (James II.), who were to report to him on the merits of these cases of suffering. Of those who were thus summoned there are four lists, those Friends who appeared in the first and second part of the case, those Friends who were not examined, amongst whom were Nathaniel Wilmer, Francis Stamper, William Crouch, William Bingley, etc., and fourthly the Informers.

It would appear that Wilmer was in partnership with

³ Mary Pearce was the wife of Richard Pearce, a distinguished Quaker apothecary of Limerick, and one who suffered for his principles. He issued, with his wife Mary, a trade-token, viz.,

Obverse—RICHARD. PEARCE. OF.—A MORTAR AND PESTLE.

Reverse—LIMERICK, APOTHECARY—R.M.P. 1668.

⁴ 1725, R. 595.

a Friend named James Brown, of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, who, in 1673, for refusing to bear arms, suffered distress of goods with Edmund Caryl to the amount of £5 11s. 6d.^s and who, in 1686, was under prosecution in the ecclesiastical court, but discharged.

In 1686, August 11th, Nathaniel Wilmer acquired a folio Bible, or at least had this date engraved on the covers, which date may possibly be that of the death of his mother, Constance Wilmer; of this Bible we will speak later.

In 1688 we hear of Wilmer in connection with the bankruptcy of Richard Watson, an excellent Friend, belonging to Stockton Monthly Meeting, the particulars of whose case are of singular and pathetic interest, and well deserve publication.

Under date "Stockton y^e 12th of y^e 12th month, 1688," we learn from the Monthly Meeting books that "the letter ordered to be sent to Na: Wilmoore [was] as followeth, [viz.] "

Friend Nathaniell Wilmoore, we are informed by Rich: Watson y^t thou art one of his Credittors & refuses to seeke releif upon y^e Commission of bankrupt sued out against him & y^t he supposeth thou art informed y^t he haith made some considerable resarve & haith not justly giuen up his estate; & at y^e request of y^e s^d Richard Watson, we being his neighbours & some of us his famillier acquaintance doe hereby certifie unto those whome it may Concern y^t to our knowledge y^e s^d Rich: Watson & Jane his wife, though by Law she was not oblidged to doe it, haue giuen up all their Lands & tenements in Norton & Stockton; & we neuer heard, neither doe we belieue y^t they or either of them haue or euer had any land or tenement else where, & to y^e best of our knowledg we doe certifie y^t his estate in shipping is discovered & his books were giuen to y^e Commishoners at their first Comeing, their houshold goods & marchandise was giuen up, & as to money we belieue he had very little, & further more things not mentioned in his bookes some of us doath know he haith made discouery of, soe y^t soe far as we know or haue any just ground to belieue, they haue made noe Consealment but haue delt ingeanously in discouering & giueing up what was theirs; & therefore we think it hard y^t any friend should stand out & espetially y^t Na: Wilmoore should be y^e man because by diuers letters boath from thyselfe & Ja: Browne we haue sene how seamingly thou didst Condesend to take a proportionall part provided thou might fare no wors then other Creditors. We doe assure ye some of us are deeply Concerned & our debts as just & mannyfest as thine is & our endeauors to y^e utmost were used y^t we might haue releife.

Y^e nicety of y^e Commishoners were such y^t wee Could not be admitted of, which by y^e method Richard Watson put ye upon, there was noe hazard in thy case; all friends here haue found themselves obbleiged for y^e truth sake as well as for their owne & R: W: sake to accept what y^e Estate would raise, & giue him discharge y^t he may be fully at Liberty to use his future indeauours; he promising & we belieueing y^t if euer god shall here after enable him he will make further sattisfaction; & y^t which did partly induce friends here unto; was not only what we believed concerning giueing up of his Estate an account as afores^d but also because friends in y^e truth aduised him to put some of his Creditors suing out y^e Commishon of Bankrupt[cy] contrary to y^e aduice of some of his neer relations soe y^t friends boath from this monthly meeting & alsoe from our Quarterly meeting haue put to their hands to help indeauours y^t friends might not be excluded by reason of their testimony against swearing; y^e obtaining of which preuilldg friends accounted very well of; & when all this is done y^t thou should be y^e only man to exclude thy selfe, we are sorry for it; therefore our desire & aduice in loue & good will unto ye is y^t thou maist noe longer omit to act as others haue done; & we are pswaided Richard Watson's endeauours will not be wanting to promote thy Interest what he can & if any thing Ly in our pour either by aduise or assistance we shall alwayes be redy to serue ye in what we may, & rest thy friends in y^e truth.

ffriends p^sent at this meeting

For Stockton & Norton: THO: CHIPCHASE; ROBT: PATTISON; JA: WOOD; JO^N WOOD; RO: HARTBURNE; THO: DODSWORTH; W^M DODSWORTH; NICO COCKFIELD; W^M HARRISON.

For Darlington & Yarme: ROBERT TRUMAN, RA: REEDE; LAUR: APLEBY; THO: THORP; DAN: ROBINSON.

For Shotton: JO^N WILKINSON, JO^N HALL.

The above letter is valuable as an illustration of the remarkable rectitude of the early Friends, of the care they took to clear the Truth, of their unselfish kindness to a brother in difficulties, and their earnest endeavours to assist him to discharge his liabilities. Richard Watson, whose large shipping business had long caused uneasiness to Friends, was a Friend evidently both beloved and esteemed by them. He was eventually restored to the fullest unity with his friends, settled in London, and in 1706 we find Richard Watson writing to his friend Richard Lindley of Yarm, cordially acknowledging a gift of £4 remitted him by Stockton Monthly Meeting.

Under date 18 July, 1689, we learn from the Burleigh Collection of State Papers⁶ that a warrant was issued by the Government "to search for and apprehend

⁶ State Papers Domestic, Warrants Book 34, p. 412.

Nathaniel Wilmer for corresponding with the enemy," probably with James II. or his adherents, for which it will be remembered Penn was also in serious difficulty, was imprisoned within the confines of his house, and finally cleared by the government of William and Mary.

In 1691 was printed a now very rare pamphlet (not in D.) entitled, *Some Letters and an Abstract of Letters from Pennsylvania, containing the State and Improvement of that Province*. Published to prevent mis-reports. Printed, and sold by Andrew Sow[l]e, at the Crooked-Billet in Holloway Lane, in Shoreditch, 1691 (Quarto, 1½ sheets). "This," says Joseph Smith in his *Catalogue* (vol. i. p. 849), "is a very interesting tract relative to the early history of Pennsylvania." It contains letters by John Goodson of Philadelphia to Penn, dated 1690; Robert Turner addressed to Nathaniel Wilmer; John Goodson to John and Susanna Dew; and refers to J. Tizack, I. W.; Alexander Beardsley, W. Bradford, C. Pickering, R. Hill, William Rodeney, John Holland, Richard Morris and Francis Harrison.

The letter to Nathaniel Wilmer from his friend Robert Turner is as follows :

Nathaniel Wilmer, Friend,

My Love to thee, This comes Cover to the inclosed, for my Friend W[illiam] P[enn]. I know not but by his writing, he may before this comes to hand, be on his Voyage towards us ; if so, then I desire, by the first opportunity presenting to send it back to me here, to be delivered to my own Hand. I hope the ship *Tryal* is arrived in England, before this comes to hand ; if so, John Fuller, my Love to him, and to my old Friends from Ireland, if thou see any of them, the Lord preserve them and us.

I heard lately a Letter from Abraham Fuller⁷ from London, directed to John Fuller, giving some account of Ireland, and of some few Friends, God preserve them and keep them to himself ; The Lord is Angry, Vengeance is his and he will repay it.

God prospers his People and their honest Endeavours in the Wilderness ; and many have cause to Bless and Praise his holy Arm, who in his Love hath spread a Table large with us, even beyond the expectation or belief of many ; yea, to the admiration of our Neighbouring Colonies ; let the Murmurers, Repiners and evil Tiding Tellers say as they

⁷ A distinguished Irish Friend and Minister, of Lehinsey in King's County and of Moate Meeting. He was convinced about 1660 ; was a servicable and hospitable man, and a sufferer for the Truth, and died in 1694, aged about 75 (see *Piety Promoted*).

will, God is amongst his People and the Wilderness is his, and he waters and refreshes it with his moistening Dew, whereby the Barren are become pleasant Fields, and gardens of his delight, blessed be his Name saith my Soul, and Peace and Happiness to all God's people every where. I should be glad to heare of the Faithful, and of their Welfare, especially of my Antient friends in Ireland, who sojourn in a land of great distress, wherein I have been,

Thy Friend in the Truth

ROBERT TURNER.⁸

We next hear of Nathaniel Wilmer from the Devonshire House Monthly Meeting books, where we find "a paper from a meet[ing] the 8-iii-1700 [is described as] being a testimony against Nathaniel Willmott [Wilmer in margin], ff[rancis] Plumsted to record it."

We gather from the Richard Watson bankruptcy case that Wilmer was evidently of an over-reaching character in commercial pursuits, and this may have been the reason for his disownment, or some other contributory cause.

Finally we find amongst the administrations in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury at Somerset House (anno 1711 fol. 89) that "Nathaniel Wilmer, late of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, Co. Middlesex, bachelor; but deceased in the Merchant Ship *The Reward*, upon the High Seas [dying intestate], administration [was granted] 18 May, 1711, to William Arnold, the principal creditor; John Wilmer [of Friday Street], the brother and next of Kin, having first renounced."

⁸ It is evident by this letter that Robert Turner had been well acquainted with Constance Wilmer and her two sons, when they were all resident in Ireland.

"About the year 1657," say Wight and Rutty (1751), "Robert Turner, having been instrumental to the convincement of a few who lived at Grange, near Charlemont in the Province of Ulster, this year [1660] their numbers being considerably encreased through the labours of other travelling Friends, a Meeting was settled there."

In 1658 Robert Turner issued a large quarto pamphlet entitled *Truth's Defence*. This has a preface by E.B., supposed Edward Burrough. It refers amongst other things to Robert Child, Priest of Bandon Bridge, co. Cork, and to one Humphrey Whittingh, Priest, etc. Robert Turner suffered persecution in Dublin in 1660 and 1661; by 1683 we find him owning lot 31, a plot of a thousand acres or more, on Delaware front, Philadelphia, his neighbours being Joseph Fisher and Thomas Holme; and these Friends owned similar lots in the High Street, numbers 22 and 24. There is "A Letter of Robert Turner's" in William Penn's *Further Account of Pennsylvania*, printed in 1685, which is stated by Joseph Smith to be "a very interesting letter from Robert Turner to Governor Penn, dated, Philadelphia, 3rd of the 6th month (August), 1685, giving an account of the original settlements and improvements."

We must now refer to Nathaniel Wilmer's Bible, which has recently and most unexpectedly come into our possession. It was purchased in London in 1912, by P. Mordaunt Barnard, M.A., B.D., an erudite bookseller of Tunbridge Wells, and by him sold to the present writer. It is a massive folio, $18\frac{1}{2}$ by 12 by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, weighing over twenty-six pounds, and is handsomely bound in contemporary black morocco and silver, with leaves richly gilt, and was printed at the Theatre, Oxford, in 1685. The Old Testament title is wanting, and the only inscription now remaining gives the name of a former owner in 1804, viz., Alexander Croke, of Studley, Oxon. The Bible is printed in large Roman type, contains the Apocrypha, and the handsomely engraved New Testament title is an allegorical picture of the angel of inspiration dictating the gospel to the evangelist John. This Bible is well described in the old couplet of our childhood :

All bound in silver and edged with gold,
Its weight was more than the child could hold.

The covers of the Bible are richly ornamented with massive engraved silver corner-pieces, silver fillets, and plates for clasps, the latter of which, with other defects, having been carefully restored through the kindness and under the superintendence of our late friend, David Richardson, of Newcastle, who was greatly interested in this really splendid specimen of old binding. In the centre of each cover is a triangular silver plate upon which is engraved with other ornamentation, "Nathaniel Wilmer, His Bible, August XIth, 1686."

It is instructive to notice that at a time when Bibles were expensive and comparatively scarce, often no expense was spared in the binding of this greatest of earthly treasures.

To conclude, it is remarkable that this handsome folio should, after over two hundred years' alien possession, once more be owned by a kinsman of Nathaniel Wilmer, and a lineal descendant of his brother, John Wilmer, of Friday Street, London, who died in 1723.

JOSEPH J. GREEN.

Hastings.

Where Suffered the Boston Martyrs

EXTRACT from the Diary of Caleb Cresson, of Philadelphia, who died in 1816, aged 74, giving an account of a visit to Boston, Massachusetts, in Seventh Month, 1791.¹

2nd Day, 25th.—Had my horse shod, and chaise oiled and rubbed up by a coach-maker. Walked out to see the town, in company with Ebenezer Pope—first to Beacon Hill, which commands an extensive view of the town, the harbour, Castle Island (also many other islands in the bay within seven or ten miles), Gov. Hancock's house, Cambridge town and University, Bunker's Hill, where the bloody battle was fought between the British and Americans in the beginning of the late civil wars. A monument is erected on Beacon Hill, which must have cost a considerable sum, and on it are inscribed the memorable events of the distressing times we have of later years passed through.

We also viewed the Alms-house, Work-house, State house, Faneuil Hall, the Market, Long Wharf, and other public buildings and private dwellings, some of them stately and elegant. The duck² manufactory was a pleasing sight, and carried on to good advantage.

Our friend Ebenezer Pope informed me that he had made it a point to be particular in his inquiry, in order to ascertain the place where our Friends William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson were put to death, and he thought he could fix the spot within a few rods. The histories of Friends which mention the transaction are not explicit on that head—neither is it very material—yet when one is at Boston it seems quite natural to make some inquiry about it, tho' the inhabitants now show

¹ Copied by George Vaux, of Philadelphia, from a copy of the Diary in his possession. This Diary, comprising the years 1791 and 1792, was privately printed in 1877.

² Duck:—a strong untwilled linen or cotton fabric, lighter and finer than canvas, used for small sails, men's outer clothing, etc. (*Standard Dictionary*, vol. i.)

rather an aversion to having the matter revived ; and, indeed, Christian charity would forbid our making the children answerable for the misconduct of their forefathers, whose deeds they condemn, both in word and conduct. However, there can be nothing criminal in endeavouring to fix the place where the tragedy was executed.

Ebenezer Pope told me several circumstances tending to fix the spot, which he led me to, very nearly. Some of them, for my own satisfaction, I will set down here.

He says, one of our historians mentions a boat, with some sober people, coming from Nantasket, to see the bloody business, who sat therein, while it was performed, in a little creek near the gallows. The entrance of this creek is still visible near Boston Neck, and the remaining ground towards the opposite shore, a little more than a quarter of a mile over, is still low, tho' it has been filled up considerably for building.

He further says that old Friend Bagnel told him of a conversation which he had with an Old Woman at Charleston, who informed him she was about ten years old when the occurrence happened, and got leave of her parents to go and see the execution, and after crossing Penny Ferry, as it was then called, she ran along the beach until she came in view of the gallows—which, by the present situation of land and water, tends to fix the place somewhere near where our Friend Pope supposed it to be.

Add to this his account of a Public Friend from England, who when here was concerned to make inquiry on the subject, and walking out to the place, and leaning on the fence, after a solemn pause, said, " Here lie my dear Friends : I smell their bones."

Also, a sober neighbour of his, being near the spot during the late troubles, related to him (that is E. Pope) as follows :—Ruminating in his mind on the judgments which then hung over the land, and being deeply thoughtful and pensive of the cause, was made, as by a secret impulse, to stand still, and a voice as it were run through his mind—Here lie the innocent Quakers, and the very spot, or place, seemed pointed out to him in a very particular manner.

All these circumstances unite to render it almost certain that somewhere near the place he showed me, the affecting tragedy was performed.

Bishop tells us that when their lives were taken, they were denied burial, and their naked bodies cast into a hole, and not permitted to be covered ; which was soon after overflowed with water, which probably might have been occasioned by the rising of the tide over the low grounds already mentioned.

I speak now of William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, for as to Mary Dyer and William Leddra, Friends were permitted to take away their bodies.

This Friend Pope also related a conversation which lately passed between two of his neighbors—one of them grandson to Edward Rawson, who was Secretary to Governor Endicott, who spake much in favour of the piety of the first settlers, and what godly people they were, compared to the present generation. "Say you so?" said his friend; "I am of a different mind:—so far from thinking them virtuous, good people, I look upon them to have been the veriest devils that ever existed in human shape, and, to be plain with you, your grandfather was no better than the rest of them." "Why, what do you mean, sir?" said his neighbour. "I mean as I say, sir; that so far from being pious and godly, their cruelty and wickedness exceeded all example since the days of the Reformation from Popery. Have you never read the history of the Quakers' sufferings in this country, sir?" No! "Then I will take care to furnish you with a sight of it, and I am persuaded from your uprightness and candour, you will join with me in utterly condemning the principles and practices of those who first settled in this country; who, fleeing from persecution in their native land, became far before their persecutors in England in point of hard-heartedness and barbarity." So he furnished him with Besse's History of the Sufferings of our Friends in New England.

After some weeks he called upon him again, and asked if he had read it. He said "Yes." He then queried, "What was his opinion of their ancestors now?" "Why, sir," he replied, "I stand informed of what I

never before was acquainted with, and may acknowledge, with the Queen of the South, that the one-half had not been told me. So I am compelled to be of your mind, sir, and allow that they were not the men I apprehended them to be."

This was the substance of their conversation, being two Presbyterians, and it may reasonably be supposed that few of those now upon the stage have much knowledge of the proceedings of those early times against our innocent brethren and sisters, only for bearing their testimony to the Truth; for it has, without doubt, been the earnest endeavour of the writers and leaders amongst them, to mutilate and suppress all accounts which have a tendency to criminate and set in an unfavourable point of view the conduct of their forefathers. But faithful and impartial history will still preserve the truth of those transactions which cast such a shade of infamy upon the high professors of the Christian name in that day.

And something remarkable and memorable it will be, if in future time, in the very midst of the country where the persecution raged the hottest, that is, between Boston and Salem, our Yearly Meeting for New England should be established, and a standard for the Truth, as held by us as a religious society, be erected.

And if the professors under our name were but in the possession of what they hold up to the world, and acted agreeably to the principles we maintain, no doubt there would be a gathering from many of those sects, who are groaning under their heavy task-masters, and ready to say, many seeking religious minds among them, at least, "Who will show us any good?" sensibly feeling in the secret of their own minds, a want, which nothing outward can satisfy—a deficiency, which outward worship, service and ceremonies can not supply.

For indeed, nothing can satisfy the immortal part but that which is really Divine and Spiritual—agreeably to that Scripture testimony, "God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth," that is, all who approach before Him in an acceptable manner.

Benjamin Furly, Quaker Merchant, and his Statesmen Friends

BENJAMIN FURLY was one of the wealthy people who allied themselves with Quakerism in its early days. He was born at Colchester in Essex, in the year 1636, and began business life as a merchant there.¹

In 1659-60 he assisted John Stubbs and George Fox in the compilation of *A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural, You to Many, and Thou to One*, a work of fifty-seven folio sheets, printed in thirty languages, the Chaldee, Syriac, Welsh, and French Battle-Doors being written by him. He possessed a very large and curious collection of books, which were sold by auction at Rotterdam in 1714, and realised £7,638 19s. The catalogue, entitled *Bibliotheca Furliana*, consisting of 400 pages, and dealing with over 4,400 volumes, was bought in, and afterwards sold by his second son to Archbishop Secker for the British Museum. This is interleaved with MS. notes, giving price and buyer of each lot.

Some time previous to 1660, Furly went to reside in Amsterdam, afterwards making Rotterdam his home, where he set up as a merchant, in the Scheepmakers Haven. In 1677 George Fox stayed there and held religious meetings at Furly's home in Rotterdam, and then Furly accompanied Fox, Keith and others through a greater part of Holland and Germany, acting as an interpreter. Later on in the same year he made a ministerial journey with William Penn. His house became the rendezvous of Le Clerc, Limborch, and other learned men, and there he entertained Algernon Sidney, John

¹ For fuller information, see "The Furly Family of Essex," by Gibbins, in *The Essex Review*, 1899; C. Fell Smith's *Steven Crisp*; *D.N.B.*; etc. Furly died in 1715/16, if the extract from the registers of St. Nicholas Parish, Colchester, refer to him:—"Benjamin Furly, buried among y^e Quakers, 9 March, 1715/16." (J. J. GREEN.)

Locke (1686-8), and Locke's pupil, the third Lord Shaftesbury, 1698-9.

Algernon Sidney constantly wrote to him during the years 1677 to 1679. Edward Clark, of Chipley, seems to have introduced Locke to him, and their correspondence lasted as long as Locke lived. Letters which passed between Furdy and Locke, Sidney and Shaftesbury were printed in 1830 (for private circulation), by Thomas Ignatius Maria Forster, M.B., a descendant of Furdy, and the owner of the manuscripts.²

The first letter written by Locke, dated the 26th December, 1686, is in a humorous vein, and deals with Furdy's treatment of some of the Baptist writers of the period. He tells him not to expect to subdue his opponents with "a paper potgun."

The madness wherewith you expect to work such a miracle deserves a dipping and no doubt the Colonel [the Baptist protagonist] who is expert at it would do you this kindness. But whether when he had you under water he would not clap his hand on your head, and according to the method of his brother doctor of Scotland keep you there till he was perfectly assured of your being tamed, I leave you to consider.

And again :

You wish me with you, and desire I should make haste and so do I too, but I doubt whether you would be of the same mind if you knew one of my reasons. A cask of mum, an hogshead of cider, and, without doubt, even now and then a bottle of wine, or a zopie among, for a more effective remedy against phlegmatic humours and rainy weather ; this I suspect in my absence will make brave work, and heresie will arise in the "Lanterne"³ when so watered, and the mischief is, I cannot

² Dr. Forster writes in his Preface :

"The letters of Locke, of Algernon Sidney, and of the Earl of Shaftesbury published in this volume, addressed to Mr. Furdy of Rotterdam, came by the death of that gentleman into the possession of my grandfather, Mr. Edward Forster, of Walthamstow, Essex, among other very curious manuscripts. At his death, which took place on the 20th of April, 1812, they became the property of my father, Mr. Thos. Furdy Forster, of Clapton, at whose death, in October, 1825, they came into my hands, and were made my property by an act of his will dated April, 1824, together with a large collection of the MS. correspondence of some celebrated writers who flourished in the 17th and 18th centuries."

³ Dr. Forster thinks that this is a meeting of Quakers. More probably it was a group of literary men who met to discuss philosophy and other subjects.

On 26 December, 1686, Locke asks to be "remembered to all the assembly at the Lanterne." Also, 20 February, 1687, "Give my love and respect to the company in the Lanterne," and again, 19 January, 1688, he refers to some "Lanterne reasons."

find anyone to make my deputy over-seer. Our old master and you will, I know, be at it with "tother glassie," and our mistress, though she will not partake, yet will stand by, clap her hands, and encourage you to it; for my part I think I will best make Arent⁴ my vice-governor, who may often repeat to you his "wil ghy wel laeten."

The second letter, dated 29th December, 1686, makes further reference to the controversy between Furdy and the Baptist Colonel. Locke says:

Methinks you should have let the year have ended in peace and not have knocked an old officer in the head with blunt downright truths, against the which, the art of fencing is not provided. I fear this second seasoning you have sent him will spoil his Christmas cheer; for your ingredients are very strong, and the dose something of the largest.

He concludes the letter by saying he encloses a present for one of the children, and wishes to be "remembered very kindly to Mrs. Furdy our friend, and the young ones, especially Arent."

Locke himself appears to have taken some part in the controversy with the Baptist Colonel, as he writes on 20th February, 1687:

As the Colonel is gone, I am glad with you that *our* MSS. stayed; 'tis something to comfort us in the loss of those notable discoveries we might have expected. I wish your heretical pravity and perverseness have had no hand in this tragedy. And may I not justly suspect what you call Colic, was heart breaking? I warned you long since what effect such kind of dealing might have on an old soldier and author.

He closes the letter by asking Furdy to get someone going to England to carry a little book of philosophie but of four sheets and yet has nothing in it of affairs. Do me the kindness to send me word, for I am in distress to send one of my Epitomes. It will take up no more place than a letter.

⁴ Arent, Furdy's second son, was Secretary to Charles, Earl of Peterborough, General and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Land Forces serving in the expedition against Spain; several of the orders dated in the camp before Barcelona, in 1705, are countersigned by Arent Furdy, who, it is clear, must have left the Quakers before he could have accompanied Lord Peterborough.

There is evidence in a letter from Shaftesbury to Benjamin Furdy, dated St. Giles, Nov. 4, 1702, that Charles, Earl of Peterborough, had written to Furdy "re the preferring of some young man of your recommendation to his service in his great employment." Shaftesbury recommends that "it is better that this favour should be for Mr. Arent; since being your own son, a kind of foster child too to Mr. Locke, my Lord's great friend, he can enjoy the fruits of your recommendation and carry the force of your own and Friends interest with my lord, much better than a stranger can do."

Locke's silence between February and July, 1687, appears to have caused Mrs. Furlly to think there was some offence; but this fear was removed by Locke's letter of 30th July, 1687, when he writes:

One cannot take amiss the mistakes of one's friends. But I should be sorry to have given any just occasion to your wives misapprehension. Had she been better acquainted with my way of living with those I am free with, she would have known that silence, when I have no business to write, is a liberty I take with none so much with the Friends I am most assured of, and with whom I think myself past ceremony. . . . This be sure I was anything rather than sullen; and I was so far from taking any offence, that I am not displeased at the opportunity of acknowledging, once for all, that I was never any where with more freedom and satisfaction. This to your wife to whom pray give my kindest remembrances. As for yourself, if I mistake not very much you and I are past these discourses.

In his letter of 6th January, 1688, he sends Furlly a book about the "Quietists," called *Recueil des diverse Pièces concernant le Quietisme*, which costs 13s., and again remembers the children. Arent, whom he has nicknamed Teotie, is threatened with the loss of his usual present when Locke returns if he continues to grow stout, "and that, when I come, Jantie shall be my friend, and he no more."

That Furlly influenced Locke a good deal is almost certain; the period of their friendship was that when Locke was busy with his famous *Essay on the Human Understanding*, and there is not the least doubt that Furlly's library of over 4,000 volumes would be of great service to him. In a letter dated 19th January, 1688, Locke chides himself for arrears in correspondence; but excuses himself by saying he has been busy finishing his essay, *De Intellectu*, and goes on to write:

Had I not certain proofs that you are Pretty Good Enough in your own nature, I should suspect that you handle me thus smoothly with design to draw me in to be "hereticated" by you. The truth is, I find you have gone a great way towards spoiling of me already.

Both Locke and Furlly were well acquainted with William Penn. Locke, it would appear, had met with Penn while in Oxford; both were ex-students of Christ Church College, and had in common the friendship of Dr. John Owen. Locke's biographer says Locke had

known William Penn as a promising youth in Oxford, and had probably, then and afterwards, helped in unrecorded ways.⁵ Penn endeavoured to obtain the King's pardon for Locke in the year 1685, but Locke refused it, saying "he had no occasion for a pardon, having been guilty of no crime." Locke, in his letter of 26th January, 1688, seeks Furdy's help for a friend named Weinstein, who hopes for his assistance in the "intercession of the governor of Pensylvania, to help him out of the briars." He asks for a reply by Tuesday, to be sent to his brother, "who may deliver it, if there be occasion to our Friend W.P[enn]."

Locke's further interest in Furdy's children is evidenced in his letter of 2nd February, 1688, when he sends a copy book for writing exercise, being an alphabet of names, drawn chiefly from Furdy's family; he also gives medical advice for one of the children that is ill.

The death of Mrs. Furdy, in 1690, formed the subject of one of the last letters which passed between the two, and is dated from Oates,⁶ 28th April, 1690:

Dear Friend,

Though I am very much concerned and troubled for your very great loss, yet your sorrow being of that kind which time and not arguments is wont to cure, I know not whether I should say anything to you to abate your grief, but that, it serving to no purpose at all but making you thereby the more unfit to supply the loss of their mother to your remaining children (who now more need your care, help and comfort) the sooner you get rid of it, the better it will be both for them and you. If you are convinced this is fit to be done I need not make use to you of the common though yet reasonable topics of consolation. I know you expect not to have the common and unalterable law of mortality which reaches the greatest, be dispensed with for your sake. Our friends and relations are but borrowed advantages lent us during pleasure, and must be given back when ever called for; for we receive them upon those terms, and why should we repine? or, if we do, what profits it us? But I see my affection is running into reasoning, which you need not; and can think of without any suggestions of mine. I wonder not at the greatness of your grief, but I shall wonder if you let it prevail on you; your thinking of retiring some whither from business was very natural upon the first stroke of it, but here I must interpose to advise you the contrary. It is to give yourself up to all the ills that grief and melancholy can produce,

⁵ H. R. Fox Bourne, *Life of Locke*, ii. 23.

⁶ Oates, near Laver, in Essex. Locke resided here for a time at the house of Sir Francis Masham; and died here in 1704.

which are some of the worst we suffer in this life : want of health, want of spirit, want of useful thought, is the state of those that abandon themselves to griefs, whereof business is the best, the safest, and quickest cure.

Locke returned to England on 12th February, 1688, and he did not forget the Friends, attending their meeting once at least, as is shown by a letter of his to a woman Friend, Rebecca Collier, and her companion Rachel Brecon, which is as follows :

Grays Inn,
November 21st, 1699.

My Sweet Friends,

A paper of sweetmeats by the bearer to attend your journey, comes to testify the sweetness I found in your society. I admire no converse more than Christian freedom, and fear no bondage like that of pride and prejudice. I now see that an acquaintance by sight cannot reach the height of enjoyment, which acquaintance by knowledge arrives unto. Outward hearing may misguide us but internal knowledge cannot err. We have something there of what we shall have hereafter, to know as we are known, and thus we with our other friends were even at the first view mutual partakers, and the more there is of this in the life, the less we need enquire of what country, nation, party or persuasion our friends are, for our own knowledge is more sure than another's is to us, thus we know in whom we have believed.

Now the God of all grace grant you may hold fast that grace of love and charity, that unbiassed and unbounded love, which if it decay not will spring up mightily as the waters of the sanctuary, higher and higher untill you with the universal Church swim together in the ocean of divine love.

⁷ Locke's letter appears in *The Annual Monitor* for 1828, preceded by a paragraph as follows :—" This letter was sent to Rebecca Collier, a member of the Society of Friends, after a meeting held in London, which he and King William III. attended, the latter incognito. It was accompanied by two papers of sweetmeats, one for Rebecca, and one for her companion, Rachel Bracken (to which the letter alluded). This meeting was so agreeable to Locke, that it removed his objections to a female ministry." The letter is dated 1696.

The letter also appears in Hare's *Gurneys of Earlham*, 1895, i. 237, where the addressee is given as Rebecca Collins, and the date 1696. A question relative to this Friend appeared in *Quakeriana*, Dec. 1895 (ii. 184), but has remained unanswered.

There are two MSS. in D. containing this letter, one is written on paper with the watermark 1809. The latter gives the date 1699, and the Friends R. Collier and R. Brecon, while the former has Collier and Buckon.

In no case is there any reference to the source of the quotation. Nothing more is at hand regarding either Friend.

John Locke's views on women's preaching may be gathered from his Paraphrase on Paul's Epistles, see *Extracts* from this printed for John Hull in 1832.—[Ed.]

Women indeed had the honour first to publish the resurrection of the God of love, why not again the resurrection of the spirit of love? And let all the disciples of our Lord rejoice therein as does your partner

JOHN LOCKE.

Benjamin Furdy also had business and personal relations with Algernon Sidney. On 29th November, 1677, Sidney writes to him telling him of the death of his father, and asking his advice in reference to transmitting a large sum to France, where he intends to go for the purpose of buying an estate in Gascony, and settling down. On 13th April, 1678, Sidney writes to Benjamin Furdy again, and tells him much of what is transpiring in England. Among other things he tells him of the trial of the Earl of Pembroke for murder, and also of the business concerning Friends in the House of Commons. He writes :

Your Friends seem to have succeeded well in the last week, before the Committee of the House of Commons, as to being distinguished from Papists, and it is hoped that if the House sit long enough to perfect that business, they will find ways of exempting them from the penalties of the laws made against those that in no degree resemble them ; nevertheless I find many Parliament men very bitter upon them in private conversation, as I think without knowing why.

In a letter of Sidney's, dated 31st January, 1678/9, there is a reference to an interesting money transaction with certain Friends.⁸ He writes :

Gerard Roberts who was to have paid me £297 10 0 the 16th of April last, has dealt very vilely with me, and Will : Mead and John Osgood who have the management of his business, not at all better, and to say the truth I having forborne to trouble him for my money at Wm Penn's desire, as his friend and a man of exceeding good repute, amongst those of his own profession, could not find more niggling, shifting, cavilling, and indeed downright lying and knavery from the men of the worst repute in London, than I do from all three of them, and particularly Mead and Osgood are much more inclinable to cast unjust reproaches upon Wm Penn, than to do me the justice he adviseth, which, together with what is suspected of John Swinton, and hath fallen out with some others, will much impair the credit those of your profession have hitherto had.

Sidney goes on to deal with what is expected of the new Parliament, and writes :

⁸ The reference to this money transaction is omitted in the second edition of the Letters, published in 1847.

It is generally thought, men will be chosen everywhere that are averse to the Court, but some think those may come in who are more favourable to non-conformists, but I do not, seeing the same spirit still rules, that is as full of bitterness towards them as ever. I am

Your truly affectionate friend,

AL. SIDNEY.

Other letters refer to the best course of business to pursue as a consequence of the war, and the investment of money for Algernon Sidney's friends outside England for safety.

On 9th March, 1678/9, he again refers to the business with Roberts, Osgood and Meade. He writes :

The business of G. Roberts is certainly naught in all extremity, and the reputation Mead and Osgood had in your Society will make it prove of more prejudice unto the whole, than the gain they can be of advantage unto themselves. All that I now expect is, by W. Penn his interposition to get my money with the loss of three or four score pounds, and to be paid I know not when.

Other letters refer to the printing of a book, the Act for restraining the press being expired. And also the purchase of horses for the Earl of Essex.

Sidney, on his death in 1682, bequeathed to Benjamin Furdy a large silver drinking cup, about eight inches in height. This was in the possession of Dr. T. Forster, of Walthamstow, as late as 1830.

It would be interesting to know what effect these friendships had on those who so rigorously persecuted Friends in this period. It would certainly not help to ease the persecution at all.

Locke, while in Holland, was making the acquaintance of the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III., and also the Duke of Monmouth. He was suspected of sending to England treasonable literature; his theology and philosophy and politics were all suspected. Algernon Sidney was indicted for plotting against the King, and was beheaded on Tower Hill, 7th December, 1682. The third Lord Shaftesbury, also friendly with Furdy and a constant correspondent, was also a suspect at Court.

These relationships would be known by all in power; the system of spies and informers was too well developed for this to be otherwise. We know that the insurrection led by the Duke of Monmouth exercised Friends a good

deal in Essex, and certificates had to be signed and attested by churchwardens, overseers, etc., to show that Friends were in nowise concerned against the King. Church and State were then more closely allied than ever since, and it would need very little to lend colour to the idea that Quakers as such were desirous of overthrowing the Stuart throne, especially as many of the rank and file of Friends had been in the army of Cromwell.

Whether this be so or not, it is very likely that the kindness shown by Dutch Friends to Locke and Shaftesbury whilst exiles, helped to minimise the persecution when once William of Orange became King of England.

CHARLES R. SIMPSON.

London.

Benjamin Furdy and his Library

THE catalogue of Benjamin Furdy's library, a copy of which is in D., and another copy of which is in the British Museum, shows Furdy to have been a very large collector of books and rare MSS. The letters, preserved in the British Museum, between John Locke and Furdy show that he used his friends in the work of collecting.

Some account of Furdy and his Library is given in the Memoirs of Zacharias Von Uffenbach, who visited Rotterdam in 1710; he had been a classmate, at Halle, of Justus Falkner, one of the early German Quietists in Pennsylvania, and later was attorney for Furdy.¹

He writes :

On the morning of November 21st [1710] we went Op Te-Haaring Vliet to visit Benj. Furdy an English Merchant, who was the chief of the Quakers in Holland, and possesses an enormous stock of books, mainly *suspectæ fidei*; he lives in a very fine house, and is a man of about seventy years of age, and of peculiar actions [*sonderbaren Wesen*].

We were ushered into his *comptoir* as it was called, but this appeared more like a library or museum than a mercantile counting house, as the

¹ See *The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania*, vol. i.

walls were shelved and covered with books to the number of at least four thousand. They were mostly on Theological subjects, of the *suspectæ fidei* order, and appear to be well suited to Mr. Benjamin Furdy's taste, who is a paradoxical and peculiar man, who soon gave us to understand that he adhered to no special religion.

Unfortunately we were not permitted to examine any of his books except the original manuscript of the *Liber Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, edited by Limborch, and this work only after earnest and repeated solicitation.

It proved to be a codex membranaceus in folio constans folios 203 and was neatly and plainly written. This was indeed a great curiosity, especially as it was found in the possession of a non-catholic. This was further instanced by the actions of the former Bishop of Utrecht, who upon that account doubted its authenticity and sent a clerical to compare Limborch's edition with this original. Mr. Furdy would not permit this examination until the above clerical assured him that if he found the two works to agree, he would so certify to the fact officially over his hand and seal; this was done and it is now pasted on the cover of the volume (1710).²

I thought I should die from impatience, and although I repeatedly referred to the subjects of his books, and begged him to show us some of the rarest and most curious of the collection, the man was so excited that he failed to notice my request.

We were astounded that this man, a merchant, should be so well versed in Latin, Hebrew, etc., the more so as he formerly had no means at his disposal, and had only acquired them here of late. We complained that on account of his extended discourse we had failed to obtain an insight to his literary treasures, but even this hint failed and proved to be of no avail.

In his personal appearance, continues Uffenbach, Benjamin Furdy is, as we had pictured him to be, an old, tall, lean, serious man who, although it was already cold and chilly, went about in a thin threadbare

² The Latin title of this work is given in the *Bibliotheca Furliana*. Translated it reads as follows: "Book of Maxims beautifully written on parchment, and bound between two wooden leaves; the autograph itself is written; and everywhere it is subscribed in the hand of the clerks at the inquisition, beginning only with the year of Christ 1607 [and going] as far as 1622; and by undoubted indications it is agreed to be the original manuscript derived from the archives of the Inquisition of Toulouse. The maxims themselves, as far as can be gathered from the resemblance of the handwriting, are written in the hand of Peter of Clav. . . . down to the eighth discourse, which begins fol. 97. The remainder of the book down to the end, is in the hand of William Julian; James Marquette has written beneath the Maxims almost throughout; [it is] the rarest book of all rarest ones, and of the highest possible price."

The original manuscript was bought in by John Furdy at the sale of his father's library, and afterwards sold to Archbishop Secker, who presented it to the British Museum, where it now remains. It was translated into English and published by Samuel Chandler, London, 1731. A copy of this translation can be seen at the Ridgway branch of the Philadelphia Library.

gray coat ; around his head he wore a band of black velvet, as he stated for the purpose of keeping his hairs from coming on his face when writing.³

After the death of Furdy his great library was catalogued and sold at auction, commencing 22nd October, 1714, and lasting until the 27th.

An interleaved catalogue, evidently used by the family, is in the British Museum, and contains manuscript notes giving the numbers of each lot, the price obtained, and the name of the purchaser.

The following are specimens of the prices paid for Quaker literature :

1017. Katherine Evans and Sarah Chevers, Account of	£	s.	d.
Sufferings, Lond. 1663			
1018. Arise Evans, Voice from Heaven, 1653	5	0	0
1019. George Fox, Journal, 2 vol., Lond. 1709			
1037-1044. Eight works by George Keith, London, 1675-1699	1	0	0
611. Penn and Whitehead, Christian Quaker, 1674, folio	2	2	0
587. Robert Barclay, Works, 1692, folio	5	0	0

In all, the library consisted of 4430 lots, divided as to subjects in the following proportions :

SUBJECT.	No. OF LOTS.	PRICE REALISED.		
		£	s.	d.
Theologia ..	2177	1823	4	0
Historia Ecclesiastica ..	250	1421	17	0
Historia Profana ..	586	738	13	0
Philosophia ..	377	346	12	0
Grammatica ..	249	265	18	0
Miscellanei ..	401	403	4	0
Manuscripti ..	39	52	11	0
Praetermissi & Omissi ..	208	1160	9	0
Curiositates ..	60	1367	19	0
Libri Incompacti ..	83	58	12	0
	4430	£7638	19	0

³ Quoted by Julius Friedrich Sachse, *Benjamin Furdy, English Merchant of Rotterdam*, pp. 18ff. 1895.

Among the buyers was Jacob Claus, a prominent Dutch Friend, who bought a large number of Quaker and mystical works. He afterwards sold to Thomas Story a portion to the value of about £48; most of which, however, was lost at sea.⁴

It is interesting to note the large number of works on mysticism that Furdy had collected, and which in all probability had been used in the literary circle of which he was the centre. The works of Jacob Behmen were numerous, one set of twelve volumes selling for £15 15s. Here, too, were the works of Dell, Everard, Saltmarsh, Tauler, Giles Randall, Erbury, Chillingworth, and many others.

There was also a copy of Moses Amyraldi's *Defensio Doctrinae Jo. Calvini de absoluta Reprobatione*. The author was the principal at the French College where William Penn studied after leaving Oxford, and who, with Thomas Loe, had no doubt greatly influenced him towards the idea of a universal salvation as against the doctrines of election and reprobation.

London.

CHARLES R. SIMPSON.

⁴ See MS. inserted in a copy of Thomas Story's *Journal*, in D., with the following endorsement:

"Inventory of Books, &c.—Jacob Claus. Great part of these were lost at Sea sent in the vessell with Jn^o Padty, who Escaped by particular Providence."

Referring to a recent conference at Arch Street, Philadelphia, an editorial in *The Westonian*, First Month, runs: "It was not the way of our fathers, but it had in view no other end than that which our fathers strove for, and were they here, facing our problems and our conditions, we have little doubt but that they would have commended the Meeting and would have had their faith renewed."

It is a little-regarded truth that the act of the passing generation is the germ which may and must produce good or evil fruit in a far-distant time; that together with the seed of the merely temporary crop, which mortals term expediency, they inevitably sow the acorns of a more enduring growth, which may darkly overshadow their posterity.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, *The House of the Seven Gables*, chap. i.

Visions of John Adam, 1712

A BRIEF account of some remarkable visions and passages of John Adam^{*} of Yorkshire a little before and in the time of his travels in Holland and Germany, supposed to be in the 2nd and 3rd months, 1712.

I the said John Adam having drawings on my spirit to go to Holland on truth's service I was under reasonings of mind before I could give up thereto, considering my want of qualifications to go to a people of a strange language, but in some time I received encouragement in a dream or vision of the night season, in substance as follows :

I was in my vision in a very pleasant delightful plain where I was filled with heavenly enjoyments, and in a little time beheld a bright appearance approaching as a man but exceeding glorious beyond what I can express ; and the nearer he drew to me the more my heart was filled with love to him and also with holy admiration, reverence, and fear, and when he came nigh he spake unto me, saying :—" Wilt thou go with me and preach the Gospel in Holland." To which I answered, " I think myself very unworthy and unqualified to undertake so great a work, yet if thou please to accompany me with thy sweet and comfortable presence as I now enjoy it, I dare not deny thee." He said, " Thy request is granted, fail not to do it," whereupon I awoke with the evidence that it was the Lord Jesus Christ who had appeared unto me, and therefore I freely gave up and made ready for my journey.

^{*} John Adam (c. 1674-1731) lived at Welwick, in the Holderness district of Yorkshire. He commenced preaching at about twenty-five years of age and travelled in the British Islands, Holland and Germany. Some autobiographical references to Adam's earlier experiences are recorded by John Kelsall in his *Diaries*, under date 1730 (v. 210-213. MS. in D.), the writer concluding with the remark, " He seemed a very plain innocent man."

There are several copies of these Visions among MSS. in D. The matter here printed from a manuscript supplied by Edwin Fayle, of Dublin, appeared in *The Irish Friend*, iv. (1841), 150.

Accordingly I went to Hull, intending directly from thence to go to Amsterdam, and found that several ships were ready and putting out to sea for that port, but I was so seized with horror and darkness and as it were death, that I could not go on board any of them, seeing no way to escape destruction if I so went, but there being some other ships bound for London I was more easy to go in one of them than in any of those bound for Holland; tho' that also seemed dim and afflicting, yet there appeared a little glimmering of light, and it came to pass that the first night after we were at sea, after a time of calm, there arose a storm which increased so that the waves beat into and over the ship, besides which about midnight another distressed vessel came full upon us, fastened to ours whereby both were like to sink and perish together, and four men of that ship were cast thence by the waves into our ship and so saved, but after some time the ship loosed or broke from ours and passing athwart our stern sunk, and all therein perished, the shrieks of the people were very dismal and piercing to us, but through good Providence we got safe to London, and here I met my companion Joseph Richardson² and from thence we had a good passage to Holland. It is also to be noted as a very remarkable signal that the ships which had set out from Hull directly for Holland (in one of which I had purposed to have gone, had not Providence miraculously preserved me) were all lost the same night, being nine or ten in number, and the People perished.

We landed at Helvetsluice and traveled through Holland to Fredrickstadt in Germany where that night I had a vision as follows:—I thought I was standing alone in a large plain wherein for a time no other living creature appeared, after which I saw some appearance at a distance advancing gradually towards me and as it came nigh me a living sense arose in my heart that it was the Devil and also a caution or warning to me to prepare for war; so he came up, and stood, as I suppose, within ten yards distance off me in figure of a mighty giant or greater than any such I have read of, his raiment (if any) and colour

² Joseph Richardson (c. 1648-1717) lived at Brigg in Lincolnshire. He accompanied John Adam to Ireland in 1710. He was also in Ireland in 1716. See *The Journal*, v. 179, x. 174, 216.

was black and shining, his eyes dreadful, and on his head as it were a crown of moving fire, his aspect grim and frightful, but I was not at all afraid of him ; after a while he spoke to this effect :—" So, John, thou hast got here." " Yes," said I, " I have got here." " More shame and contempt," says he. " Why so ? " said I. He said, " Because thou art led by a wrong spirit, and fled from thy reputation ; thy business and concerns which thou hast left behind are made wreck of and are become a dismal reproach in the country thereabouts, the religious people are filled with mourning and sorrow of heart, and the more loose sort shake their heads and hiss, ' This is he that pretends to inspiration, now we see the bottom of him that he is a deceiver.' " I said that I did not believe him nor his doctrine, for I apprized who he was, and beside I knew I left all things at home to my own satisfaction, and also my freinds committing them to that good hand which always provided for me and is with me still, therefore, " I would have thee desist for I believe thee not." " Oh," said he, " thou art hard, but I will convince thee before I have done, for thou readest out of the mouth of two or three witnesses everything shall be established." " I grant it," said I, " with a proviso that those two or three witnesses are credible ones but if thou bringest two or three hundred there are none of them worth believing." Then said he, " The main reason why things are so is thy wife that used to be at the helm in thy business is dead, and this is not the first time thou hast been deceived in such undertakings, but the Lord being long suffering did not bring this judgement upon thee until now." So being silent a while I saw at a distance something sliding along the ground, which, when it came nigh, appeared to be a coffin, and settled with the head towards me, the lid whereof opened of its own accord, so that I saw an appearance really and personally of my wife's corpse, but a caution arose in my heart touch not the dead nor believe the living. Then said I to the enemy, " It is but like the second part of the same tune, prithee, who was the master of all the Magicians of Egypt, it was thyself, and I suppose thou art no less cunning now, wherefore I believe thee no more than before, how came it to pass thou should make appearance of great things falsly

which the Almighty was pleased to do really for the confirmation of his people and confounding their enemies, ye could not all make a Louse." To which being silent, I told him they were permitted to do great things, yet it pleased the Almighty to shew that he could confound them in so small a thing, to which he made no answer. After some time of silence I saw afar off an appearance like a man which drawing near to me was so great a resemblance of a neighbour of mine who lived with me some years as a servant and behaved himself faithfully that not duly regarding the caution given me not to believe the living, I said in my heart, "Here comes my neighbour Thomas who being directly from home will tell me truly," and when he came nigh, I said, "So, Thomas, how dost thou do, and how do my wife, relations, and affairs at home?" He answered with seeming gravity and solemnity confirming what the enemy had said before with great illustration desiring me for the Lord's sake and for my own soul's sake and reputation to return home, and he said he had faith to believe that if I returned home speedily I might with his assistance which he would give me together with others retrieve and bring things to a degree of reputable order before I died; "but," said he, "if thou dost not comply with my advice and believe the foregoing testimonies, there is nothing for thee but Hell and damnation."

Whereupon I waked under a sense of horror, afflicting my companion, and prepared myself to hasten homewards, but in the interval a messenger came to the door with a letter to my companion Joseph Richardson which I stayed to hear read, the conclusion whereof gave an account of the welfare of my Wife and family, friends, relations, and affairs at home, whereby I was relieved in my mind and confirmed I was in my place, and that it was Satan by transformation who had so deceived and distressed me, and then I resigned to stay to do what service the Lord had for me in those parts.

"I feel," the poet wrote to a friend, "that love is victorious, that there is no dark it cannot light, no depth it cannot reach."

London in 1712, Dublin 1719 John G. Whittier, by E. E. Taylor, 1914.

ELIZABETH JACOB, OF LIMERICK
1675-1739

AMONG the many names occurring in the article, "Friends Travelling in Ireland," which appeared in the last volume of THE JOURNAL, is that of Elizabeth Jacob, of whom the following particulars have been gleaned from various sources.¹

Elizabeth Jacob was the daughter of Thomas and Agnes Head, and was born at Ardee, co. Louth, Ireland. Her parents being Friends, she was educated in Quakerly fashion, partly in Dublin and also in England. Her first appearance as a Minister was in 1697. Two years later she married Richard Jacob, of Limerick (1666-1725), and removed to that city. In 1701, she travelled as a preacher in the North of England and later visits to the sister island took place in 1705, 1711, 1712, and 1729, her companion in some cases being Abigail Craven.²

The return of her companion and herself from Wales in 1712, after eight months' absence, is referred to in the above-named article. From the city of Worcester, on the 5th of Ninth Month, 1712, E. Jacob wrote *An Epistle in True Love, containing a Farewell Exhortation to Friends Families*, which the Author desired should be read in "Monthly and Quarterly Meetings throughout this Nation of England."³ A gloomy view is taken of the religious conditions prevailing at this time: "the spirit of the world, pride, and covetousness, fleshly ease, and self interest mightily obstruct the prosperity of Truth in the earth."

By the kindness of Elizabeth Jacob's descendant, Henry W. Jacob, M.A., M.D., of Great Malvern, we are able to print the following extracts from a book of

¹ MS. Testimony in D.; Leadbeater's *Biog. Notices*; Rutty's *History*; etc.

² For this Friend, see note on p. 81.

³ It would be interesting to know how far such a comprehensive request was complied with. Editions of this *Epistle* were printed in London in 1712, Dublin 1756, Waterford 1787, and Stockport 1816.

records of the Jacob family compiled by Robert Jacob, b. 1789, great-grandson of Isaac Jacob, and also a letter from E. Jacob to her son, Isaac Jacob, from Holland :

Richard Jacob of the Irishtown, Limerick, Cutler, 2nd son of Richard and Joane Jacob, was born 3rd mo. 7, 1666, at Halberton, near Exeter, Devonshire ; he was married in Dublin 7th mo. 12th, 1699, to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas & Agnes Head of Ardee in the County of Louth, born 2nd 25th 1675 and they had issue viz :—an only son Isaac, born in Limerick 1st mo. 30, 1703.⁴

Richard Jacob, the father, died in Waterford 1st mo. 10, 1725 at his son's house, aged 59 years, wanting two months.

Elizabeth Jacob, the mother, an eminent minister of the Gospel, by whose ministry many were convinced, died at her son Isaac's house in Waterford 11th mo. 30, 1739. Aged 64 years & 9 months.

The following note occurs in the handwriting of Joseph Jacob :

My grandfather Richard Jacob continued in Limerick until about the year 1722, when he removed himself and wife to this city of Waterford (his only son my father having been settled here a little before on the death of his uncle, Joseph Jacob), he continued in this city until his death in the year 1725.

Elizabeth Jacob to her son Isaac Jacob (spelling modernised for the most part) :

Dear Isaac

Rotterdam y^e 21 of y^e 5mo.
1729.

This serves to acquaint thee and all my good friends that on y^e 16 of this instant we took shipping at Yemouth [Yarmouth] near 7 in y^e morning and by the Lord's good providence landed here y^e next evening, having had a rough but quick passage. I was exceeding sick for near 30 hours, so that after I came to land I had lost my voice for two days, but through mercy am now bravely recovered. My companions got cold & was a little more sick than she was coming from Ireland. We are now at our friend — Jarred's, where I met with thy acceptable letter, part of it bearing date y^e 18 of 4^m and y^e other part y^e 23, the latter bringing the acceptable news of thy being recovered, the which was cause of joy and thankfulness to thy poor exercised mother. I also observe thou hath answered my bill, which I take kindly and am obliged to

⁴ Isaac Jacob married, firstly, Rebecca Penrose. She died in 1728, and in 1732 he married Susanna, daughter of Samuel and Susanna (Nicholson) Watson of Kilconner.

⁵ Susanna Morris (c. 1682-1755) was E. J.'s companion in Holland. In the Book of Jacob there is a letter from S. M. to Isaac Jacob, dated at Amsterdam, 19th of Sixth Month, 1729.

In a letter from the same source, Isaac Jacob to his mother, 7th of Fifth Month, 1729, there is a suggestion that Robert Jordan (1693-1742) of America might accompany E. J. to Holland.

thee for thy liberality in expressing thy readiness still to serve truth and me. I hope and believe y^e Lord will abundantly reward thee for it I hope even in this life.

I now shall proceed to give thee an account of our entrance in to this great city. We were directed by our friends the Gurneys to this friend's house. Both the man and his wife received us courteously. His wife is a good minister, and hath been long a suffering soul here. She is the great merchant Hope's own sister and he came to see us and behaved very courteously. Yesterday being first day we had two meetings. Y^e morning was very small, but y^e afternoon several of y^e townspeople came in and behaved soberly. I had a pretty close service amongst them and got my mind pretty easy, thanks be to God for it. Here is very few that bears y^e name of Quakers and less that deserves it, the more is the pity, friends' children both here and in England many of them being gone off. We had no need of an interpreter here, which was a great comfort to me, but on y^e 24 of this instant we intend to set forward towards Harlam, another great city, where we are to meet y^e friend which is to interpret for us, for there is no other meeting in this nation, which can understand us without one. Friends tell me here that I speak so clear and distinct that it will be no difficulty to interpret for me. The Lord grant it may be made easy to me for my poor mind have been sorely afflicted about it this long time.

This is a very low country and full of water, but seems to be neatly improved, but we have seen little of it, only friend Hope send his coach for his sister and us to a country seat he has a little way out of y^e city, where his wife met us and treated us with tea and fine fruit, which was a great refreshment to me. When we reach Amsterdam, which will be I hope 6 days hence, there I intend to write again a more full account. We are indifferent well at present as to our health. I heartily desire this may find thee perfectly recovered as to bodily health, and above all that y^e Lord may favour thee with his divine blessings, often replenishing thy soul with his celestial rain, that thereby thou may be kept fresh, green and living before him. My heart in much brokenness is often poured out in supplication unto the Lord in thy behalf, that in blessing he may bless thee and multiply his mercies upon thee every day and every way, and that if we should never meet in this uncertain world, we may so walk in a faithful obedience to his will, that our lot may be in that glorious city, where y^e wicked shall for ever cease from troubling and our poor souls shall be in eternal freedom and liberty, for ever to praise y^e Lord God and y^e Lamb, who is eternally worthy, saith my soul. I shall now leave thee to him which hath hitherto helped both thee and me through many difficulties, still desiring the continuance of thy prayers for my help and preservation, and that, if it be y^e Lord's will, we may see each other again to our mutual comfort in y^e interim. Accept of true love and paternal [*sic*] affection from thy poor mother

ELIZABETH JACOB.

Please to greet me dearly to brother and sister with all y^e children and all y^e Mores with Cousin Harris' wife and family with Aunt Diniss.

and in thy next let me hear if y^e glass-works proves well, and how things in general are amongst you. Give my love to Francis Anslow & wife, with Seelys and all y^e rest of friends, servants and neighbours. I wrote to brother Penros & forgot to date it, pray excuse it. Robert Wickam was writ [to] two or three days after. I think to write to cousin H. Harris some time hence. My companion's dear love is to thee, she hath a letter from her husband and her family is all well. When this comes to hand direct for me as thou did the last to this city.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

Abigail Craven (c. 1684-1752), daughter of — and Dorothy Craven, afterwards Boles (or Bowles), and Watson, began her public ministry while on a visit to England with Elizabeth Jacob in 1712. The date of her marriage with John Boles⁶ does not appear—she was Abigail Boles in 1724, nor do we find the date of her marriage with Samuel Watson—in 1733 she was Abigail Boles, widow, and in 1735 she is described as “Abigail Watson *formerly Boles*.” It appears that by her marriage with Samuel Watson she became step-mother-in-law to Isaac Jacob, the son of her old companion in travel, he having married S.W.’s daughter by his first marriage. She was five times in England and once in America on Truth’s service.

In “Some Account” of Abigail Watson, written after her decease by her husband (MS. in D.; it is really only a record of her feelings during the last few months of her life), we read, “She found no engagement to travel abroad during the year before she died . . . but said, she found her Work was done, and nothing in her way. . . . God had been with her all her Life Long, and Now, I shall sing, sing, sing.”

⁶ The following occurs in Elizabeth Jacob’s letter to her husband, dated 21st Third Month, 1713, from Woodhouse, “Came to this place to see John Boles and found him pretty cheerful, yet his recovery seems very doubtful, but if it be the Lord’s will, he can effect in his time. I thought of a meeting at Cashel this day, but John desires it might be here, which I have consented to, and in the evening at Clonmel and in the morning I desire to Dungarvan, and to have a meeting there and so to Cork to the Quarterly Meeting, and I hope after home as quick as possible.” (“Book of Jacob.”)

⁷ This reminds us of an anecdote recently told by a North of England Friend, who, in his youth, when walking to the Meeting House, which was opposite the Wesleyan Chapel, was overtaken by the Wesleyan minister, and thus addressed: “Come in with us to-day. You’ll have to sing in Heaven, you may as well learn now.”

Samuel Watson (1686-1762) was the son of John Watson (1651-1710), who, with his father, crossed to Ireland as a Planter, in 1658. The family home was Kilconner, co. Carlow. Samuel Watson married firstly Susanna Nicholson (d. 1726), and thirdly Deborah, widow of Henry Fuller and daughter of John Barcroft.

MS. Test. in D.; MS. Journal of Mary Weston in D.; *Memoirs of Samuel Fothergill*; *Life of Jane Hoskens*; Smith's *Catalogue*, i. 62; Leadbeater's *Biog. Notices*; Watson and other MSS. in D.; THE JOURNAL, x.

The following allusions to Abigail Craven, *aff.* Bowles, in the Book of Jacob have been sent us by the kindness of Dr. Jacob :

(a) RICHARD JACOB to ELIZABETH JACOB:—Limerick, 16th of 1st mo. 1711. "Dority received Aby's letter and desires me to inform Aby that she is very well."

Postscript to above:—"Dear Mother, I am very well & my dear love is to thee and to Abigail. This is all from thy affectionate son,

"ISAAC JACOB."

(b) ELIZABETH KAY to ELIZABETH JACOB:—London, the 28th of 6th mo. 1711. "Dear Friend and Sister, after the salutation once more to thee and thy husband with companion A. C. and all my friends."

(c) ELIZABETH JACOB to RICHARD JACOB:—Hull, the 30th of 4th mo. 1712. "I had a letter from Henry Gouldney last week with one from Isaac in it, who made a groundless complaint of me and my dear companion of our not writing in two month's time, which I hope before this comes to hand will be taken out of the way, so shall not say much of it, knowing our clearness."

Postscript to above:—"My companion's dear love is to her mother and you all."

(d) RICHARD JACOB to ELIZABETH JACOB:—Limerick, 18th of 5th mo. 1712. "We are all much as when thou left us; so is Dority and hath her dear love to Abigail. . . . Susanna Moody hath long expected a letter from Abigail; she desires to be remembered to you both. Ben Craven was here about ten days ago and was well. My dear love to thy companion, our dear friend."

Postscript to above:—"Dear Mother, I am glad to hear that thee and my cousin Abigail are well. . . . I am with very dear love to thee and dear Abigail. . . . I am thy son, ISAAC." (Direction: "for Daniel Abraham att Swarthmoor neer Ovston [Ulverston], in Lancashire, England, for Elizabeth Jacob.")

(e) ELIZABETH JACOB to RICHARD JACOB:—"Liverpool, 25th of 6th mo. 1712. Give my kind love to Dorothy and let her know her daughter is well."

(f) BENJAMIN HOLME to ELIZABETH JACOB :—" Fairfield, 1st of 7th mo. 1712. Give my love kindly to thy companion. I believe she is so exemplary in her conduct that she gives a good savour to many. I would have her to be encouraged."

(g) Postscript to letter from ELIZABETH JACOB to RICHARD JACOB : " Dublin 11th of 3rd mo. 1713. . . . Please to give my dear love to mother and Dorothy ; tell her Abay is well."

(h) ELIZABETH JACOB to RICHARD JACOB :—" Woodhouse, 21st of 3rd mo. 1713. Please to give my love to Dorothy and tell her her daughter is well. A. C. dear love is to her mother and friends."

(i) MARY RUSSELL to ELIZABETH JACOB :—" Tottenham, 9th of 8th mo. 1713. . . . Please to give my dear love to thy husband and little son, though unknown, I love them for thy sake, so shall conclude with the salutation of my very dear love to thyself and dear A. C., who I believe will be concerned for my great loss."

(j) ELIZABETH GOULDNEY to ELIZABETH JACOB :—" London, 1st of 12th mo. 1713. " Greet me with much love, nearness and true affection to A. C. Tell her my cries and supplications cease not to the High and Holy one, on her behalf, as I hope her's doth not on mine. Dear W. Penn we think gains some ground of his distemper, he is and hath been all along very sweet in his spirit and his company very edifying."

(k) HENRY GOULDNEY to ELIZABETH JACOB :—" London 1st of 10th mo. 1713. Pray give us some account of dear A. Craven, how it is with her, and if she grows in a service, to be sure, if she dont neglect her gift but gives up in obedience, there is a good work for her to do."

(l) HENRY GOULDNEY to ELIZABETH JACOB :—" London 20th 5th mo. 1714. It pleaseth me when I hear of thy welfare and many good services thou art heartily engaged about, and methinks I still would hope, when the acceptable time comes, thou will be enabled to give up, and with thy dear companion, honest Abigail, wilt make us another visit, that she may be an help-meet with thee in thy exercise and travails, and if it would not strip thy dear husband too much, that thy beloved Isaac accompanied thee also, who I understand grows bravely and is in good esteem ; it would be a comfortable visit, which thine ever was, to friends generally."

(m) ABIGAIL CRAVEN to ISAAC JACOB :—" London, 15th of 4th mo. 1717. " Dear Isaac, Thou hast been often in my remembrance, with desires for thy preservation from all those hurtful things which youth is prone to, that thou may be kept in thy innocency and simplicity, which truth leads to, remembering thy Creator now in the days of thy youth. . . . Think nothing of thy learning, for it signifies nothing to making thee a wise scholar in Christ's school, but learn of Him who is meek and low, so thou may find rest to thy soul, if thou art willing to take his yoke upon thee, which with desire it may be so, I rest thy loving friend and well-wisher,

ABIGAIL CRAVEN.

" My companion's love is to thee."

Truth's Affairs in America, 1709

4 mo. 17th 1709: Thomas Chalkley's Brief Account of Truth's Affaires in America, but more pticularly of Pensilvania.

Truth prospers in the General, in a blessed manner, the friends of it are in love and Unity one with another, it has great Credit amongst those of the best fashion and highest Rank, and its loved Received & Jmbraced by many of y^e poor (the Lord our God be praised) a Good spring of Disciplin and wholesom order is Growing and Jncreasing in y^e American Quarter of y^e World (among friends) viz^t in Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, the Jarseys, and in some parts of New England, pticularly Road-Island, in all w^{ch} provinces there are some large meetings of friends, but Especially in Pensilvania, in this Province there are 30 settled meetings, and above Twenty Meeting houses, most of y^e largest Built of Brick, and Stone, here are also a Great many young people w^{ch} have been brot up in Plainness, and Industry, and are not acquainted with the Corruptions of the Times, and Almighty God is concerning faithfull Elders on their behalfe, y^t they might be Nortured & brot up in y^e fear of y^e Lord God, and in y^e faith of Christ.

As to Philadelphia, the Chief City in this Province, there are two large Meets therein, and alarge Remnant of faithfull friends, But some of our youth as in other Cityes are too apt to Run out into pride and Extravagant Trading, which wounds and brings Barrenness on y^e soul, and Grieves the faithfull, who are concerned to warr agst it, here is no Tithes in this province soe no sufferings on y^t account, But in Maryland friends bear a faithfull Testimony agst y^e Hireling Priests, Friends in those parts of y^e World Generally bear a living Testimoney agst all manner of outward War, there are no manner of Preparations for it in this province, and not with standing the Enemy on one hand and y^e Indians on y^e other

yet there hath not been any Warr or Bloodshed in this province, since it hath been settled by friends, w^{ch} hath been in y^e other Provinces, soe y^t friends have good cause to be faithfull in y^t Noble Testimony & peaceable Principle of not meddleing with, nor learning warr, w^{ch} tends to y^e Destroying men and Countrys, and in the maine it may truly be said that Truth prevails in a good degree in this Quarter of y^e World, and y^e blessing of y^e most high is among his people, w^{ch} is life for ever more in w^{ch} divers are Raised Audably to bless and praise the Lord for all his mercies, who in Christ is worthy forever.

From the Minutes of London Y.M. iv. 65.

How Elizabeth Pike Outwitted the Highwayman

YEARS ago, before the days of railroads, one stormy night, an Irish woman Friend—Elizabeth Pike¹—the wife of a well-known banker, was travelling by stage-coach up to Dublin. The only other occupant of the compartment was a man. Suddenly the vehicle stopped and an altercation was heard outside. The man exclaimed "Robbers! I have three hundred pounds, and will put it into my boot where it will not be seen." He just had time to do so when the door was torn open and a clumsy gun was pointed at them, accompanied by a demand for money. "I have none," said the man. "Yes thou hast some, because I saw thee put three hundred pounds into thy boot just a moment ago," interposed Elizabeth Pike. The crestfallen victim had to pass over the money, the coach door was banged to, and they proceeded on their way.

The unhappy man was loud in his denunciation of his fellow-traveller the rest of the journey. But she held her peace. The next morning he very early received a communication from her, at his hotel, enclosing three hundred pounds and explaining that she at the time of the adventure was sitting on six thousand pounds in banknotes and had acted as she had to protect the larger sum.

For quick mother wit that is hard to beat. But it would seem to prove that if people are opposed to lying and physical violence they have to use their brains instead, and that is much better.

WILLIAM C. ALLEN, in *The Westonian*, 11 mo., 1913.

¹ Perhaps the Friend of that name mentioned in Leadbeater's *Biographical Notices* (c. 1726-1797), *née* Pim, wife of Joseph Pike, of Dublin.

IN ATLANTIC CROSSING 87
The Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia
Proposed New and Complete Edition
of the Journal of John Woolman

THE publication of an edition of the *Journal of John Woolman*, faithfully following the text of the original manuscript which has recently become accessible, must be of interest to all Friends, and to many others. Of the three copies, all of them in the author's own hand, the two earlier are deposited at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, and the third and final manuscript is owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia. All three have been deposited by descendants of the Journalist. John Woolman evidently copied for the printer the rough drafts of the earliest sheets, not long before he sailed for London in 1772. His accounts books, of which there are two, bear silent evidence of the care and forethought which led him to settle all his worldly affairs with scrupulous exactness before setting out on that journey from which there was to be no return.

Many editions of Woolman's *Journal* have been published, some of them of very recent date, but it is a striking fact that not since 1837 has there been any attempt to collate the printed text with the original manuscript. This was done by John Comly in that year. Neither he nor his predecessors, however, ventured to follow the original text, although his name does not appear upon the title page; but their daring omissions and the verbal commonplaces which they inserted reduced the simple and vivid phrase to something less vital. With it all, the famous *Journal* yet remains a model of direct and simple style despite the fact that entire pages and paragraphs, carefully copied out in Woolman's very clear and fair hand for publication, have been entirely omitted—in one edition, an entire chapter! Some of the omissions deal with such interesting subjects as inoculation and the law, while two are remarkable dreams, one of them at the age of eight.

The Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia proposes to print a final edition of the famous *Journal*, which will closely follow the original text, accompanied by biographical notes of each person named. Letters and manuscripts of Woolman are very rare. His "A.B.C." book, or Primer for children, of which there were three editions, the first probably about 1769, has disappeared.¹ It is a rare little paper-covered thing, possibly not more than three or four inches in length, and very valuable. A copy is much desired. Anyone who owns or knows of the existence of such material will perform a real service to the Society in its efforts to set forth the work with accuracy, and do fuller justice to the hitherto little-known personal life of John Woolman, by communicating with

AMELIA M. GUMMERE,
Haverford, Penna.

An Atlantic Crossing in 1726

In *The Life and Travels of Samuel Bownas*, 1756, p. 136, we read :

"I left my home the 22d day of the Tenth Month, 1726, to Pool, being to take shipping there, but the ship was not quite ready; and when it was ready, the wind being against us, were obliged to stay there about five weeks, so I had sundry satisfactory opportunities both amongst Friends and others.

"All being ready and the wind fair, we set sail the 24th of Eleventh Month with a fair wind and pleasant weather, which carried us a considerable distance off the land; but it held but three days and then it was very contrary hard winds after that, which made me very sick and other ways out of order. . . . We had a very long and tedious passage, being eleven weeks and two days upon the sea, from land to land, and on the fourteenth of the Second Month 1727 we landed at Hampton, otherwise Kickatan, in Virginia."

¹ This statement may be true as regards America, there is a copy of the third edition in D. [Ed.]

Friends in Current Literature

REVIEWERS have differed considerably in their estimate of W. Teignmouth Shore's *John Woolman, His Life and Our Times* (London: Macmillan, 8 by 5½, pp. 273, 5s. net). Most agree in thinking that there is little of "Our Times" in the book, but many interesting and sympathetic sketches of the life and work of Woolman have appeared in periodical papers in consequence of this publication. The following are the closing words of "The Church Times" review of March 13: "Many will be grateful also for the light which is thrown on the beliefs and habits of the Quakers. And it can never be anything else but helpful to read how a man deliberately set himself to follow, as best he knew how, the footsteps of Jesus Christ." We think that what may be termed the historical and descriptive interludes are very valuable. We only regret that we could not, after much search, find in our archives more illustrative matter for the Author.

The Joseph White who is introduced so abruptly on p. 273 is mentioned three times in Woolman's Journal. He lived in Bucks Co., Pennsylvania; began to preach when twenty; visited England in 1758; died 1777, aet. 64. ("Piety Promoted"; Corder's "Memorials"; and other books and MSS. in D.).

The paper by William Charles Braithwaite, read at the Reading Summer School, 1913, entitled *Lessons from Early Quakerism in Reading*, has been issued in pamphlet form (Reading: Poynder, 8½ by 5½, pp. 18).

Jesse Edgerton, of Damascus, Ohio, has issued a volume of his poems under the title, *A Brook by the Way* (8½ by 5½, pp. 222). The book is illustrated with a picture of the Author (1845——), of his home in Damascus, of the old Meeting House at The Ridge, near Barnesville, O., of Stillwater Meeting House (ice-bound), and of the Boarding School at Barnesville when attacked by fire in 1910 and as re-built to-day. Two poems are here reprinted:

AMBROSE BOONE.

1871.

Ambrose Boone, a minister, from Canada, died suddenly at the home of Robert Ellyson, at Middleton, Ohio, Twelfth Month 7th, 1871, while on a religious visit to the Meetings of Ohio Yearly Meeting. His remains were carried to his home in Ontario, Canada.

Fold his hands upon his bosom !
Gently lay the stranger down ;
For the toils of life are ended,
He has won a Heavenly crown !
Stranger friends had gathered round him,
Watching o'er his couch of pain,
As the slender ties that bound him
To the world were cut in twain.

Far from home and all its pleasures,
From the home he loved so well,
Earnest in his Christian mission.
In a foreign land he fell.
Fell as came the solemn message
That his work on earth was done,
Foremost in the path of duty,
Falling with his armor on.

From beyond the ceaseless surging
Of Ontario's restless wave,
Came he in the Master's service,
With the message that He gave :
Yet before the task was finished,
In His boundless love, the Lord
Called him, may we hope in mercy,
Home to reap a rich reward.

In that land of fadeless beauty,
Where the ransomed spirits dwell,
Where the glory far surpasses
All that mortal tongue can tell ;
Now released from pain and sorrow,
Freed from every doubt and care,
He, we humbly trust, is mingling
With the Church Triumphant there.

SILENT WORSHIP.

1886.

I sat among the worshippers,
The silence was unbroken,
For not a word of prayer or praise
By mortal tongue was spoken ;
The silence, sweet and solemn, fell
Upon the gathered throng,
But the gospel's living current
Flowed precious along,

From vessel unto vessel,
From prostrate soul to soul ;
The bowed in spirit felt the power
Of living virtue roll.
And waiting in the Master's name
To know His sovereign will,
There fell upon the spirit's ear
The whisper, " Peace, be still."

Ah ! the great Minister was there,
Dispensing heavenly good,
Unto the luke-warm ones, reproof,
Unto the hungry, food ;
And some who came in poverty,
Faithless and destitute,
In this sweet silence felt their faith
And confidence recruit.

For from home and all its pleasures
From the world he loved so well
Farthest in the Christian mission
In a foreign land he fell
Fell as one that sought no ease
That his work on earth was done
Forthright in the path of duty
Falling with his armor on

From beyond the ocean's surge
Of Ontario's western wave
Came from the Master's service
With the message that he gave
Yet before the work was done
In his weakness love, the Lord
Called him, may we hope to meet
Him in the life to come

In that land of labor's beauty
Where the righteous spirits dwell
Where the glory of our nation
All that mortal tongue can tell
Now restored from pain and sorrow
Freed from every doubt and care
He, we trust, is waiting
With the Church triumphant there

ELIZABETH WOODS

1886

I am among the worshippers
Of the Master who is hidden
For not a word of prayer or praise
By mortal tongue was spoken
The silence sweet and solemn, still
Upon the golden throne
But the people's living current
Flowed peacefully along

From vessel unto vessel
From presence unto love
The power is still the power
Of living virtue roll
And waiting in the Master's name
To know his sovereign will
There tell upon the world's ear
The whisper, "I have been still"

Al! the great Minister was there
In presence heavenly good
Unto the world was open
Into the hungry land
And some who came in poverty
Felt peace and healing
In this secret season
And confidence returned

Oh, 'tis a precious privilege,
 With worldly thoughts laid low,
 Silent before the throne of Grace,
 In penitence to bow :
 Oh, 'tis a precious privilege
 To feel, as true, His word,
 That they shall have their strength renewed,
 Who wait upon the Lord !

Oh, gracious God ! a rebel, I
 Against Thy power have striven,
 And yet presume to come to Thee,
 Craving to be forgiven ;
 Then let me humbly bow with those
 Who on Thy mercy call,
 And while they feast grant me the crumbs
 That from Thy table fall.

The latest addition to the series " Friends Ancient and Modern "† of the Friends' Tract Association (London) is *John G. Whittier, Poet, Reformer, Mystic*, by Ernest E. Taylor (London : Headley Brothers, and New York : Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, pp. 40, one penny or five cents). This is an admirable production and cheap withal—four illustrations inside and one on the cover, the last-named representing a statuette group of Whittier, Beecher and Garrison interviewing a female slave with infant in arms.

Frank T. Bullen's latest book *From Wheel and Lookout* (London : T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., 7½ by 5, pp. 277, 4s. 6d. net), contains a chapter entitled " A Quaker Mate."

" John Penn " for the mate, and " Brotherly Love " for the vessel, are certainly names Quakerly, but the spirit of the story throughout is anything but that of a peaceable spirit. After an exciting shipwreck, John Penn and his lady love are picked up by a whaling vessel manned by mutineers—in order to protect the lady the Quaker mate first kills the captain and then, " with a swift glance around for firearms, rushed out into the cabin " !

In *The Decorator* for January, there is a full account of the presentation by the Incorporated Institute of British Decorators of the gold medal of the Institute to Metford Warner, a well-known and highly esteemed London Friend, accompanied by a very good portrait and a picture of the medal.

In the *Pembrokeshire County Guardian* there is a column headed " The Pembrokeshire Antiquary." Under this caption are now appearing

† Others of the series are George Fox, Elizabeth Fry, Stephen Grellet, Francis Howgill, Joseph B. Braithwaite, Daniel Wheeler, George Whitehead, Margaret Fell, Joseph Sturge, Dr. William Wilson, William Penn, Thomas Ellwood and Richard Hubberthorne. About 104,000 of these biographies have been circulated.

several articles by (Rev.) P. D. Morse of Wolf's Castle, on "The Quakers in Pembrokeshire." In the second article, our late Friend, George Phillips of Haverfordwest (d. 1889, aged sixty-seven), receives warm eulogy. He was born of a Wesleyan family, but he united himself with Friends in 1857, when thirty-six years of age. For long he was the only Friend in the county.

In the *International Journal of Apocrypha*, dated January, there is some account of "A Quaker Translation of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, 1827," prepared by Luke Howard, of Tottenham (1772-1864). These works by Luke Howard are in D., as also his "Book of Tobias," and "Apocrypha of the Book of Daniel," and other publications.

Several papers report interviews with John Gilbert Baker, F.R.S., "the world-famous botanist and horticulturalist, who for so many years occupied the position of keeper of the Herbarium at the Royal Gardens, Kew" (*Morning Post*, 14 i. 14), and who was presented with an address of congratulation on his eightieth birthday. In one interview Gilbert Baker narrates his Quaker upbringing and school-life at Ackworth and York, and mentions some noted school-fellows, as Joseph and John S. Rowntree, Henry Seebohm and George and Henry Brady.

"At request of Hon. George Vaux, Jr., chairman, Board of Indian Commissioners, 1913," the *Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissions to the Secretary of the Interior, 1912-1913*, has been sent us from Washington, D.C. The Report deals with such live subjects as Agriculture, Irrigation, Health, Suppression of Intoxicants, and information respecting various Indian tribes—the Pimas, Apaches, Navajo and the Five Civilised Tribes.

The Annual Report of the Ackworth Old Scholars' Association for 1913 is full of interest, but the editing and printing should be improved. There is something wrong with the Presidents, as Samuel E. Brown is said to be the holder of that office 1912-13 in one place and Caroline C. Graveson in another. In one obituary notice the dates are hopelessly out—born "1814," at Ackworth "1815-9," married "1900," died "1913, aged 38 years."

A three-column review of the career of Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651-c.1720) appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, Mass., of January 12, under the heading "Pastorius [sic] Versatile Writer."

There are short articles, with portraits, of Dolly Madison (1768-1849) and Lucretia Mott (1793-1880) in *Happy Women*, by Myrtle Reed (New York and London: Putnam, 8½ by 5½, pp. 174).

We have received from the offices of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, 15, Devonshire Street, London, E.C., a *Report of the Deputation to Madagascar, July—October, 1913*, consisting of a report presented

by the three Deputations of the London Missionary Society, the F.F.M.A., and the Paris Missionary Society, and of the report presented to the F.F.M.A. Board by its own Deputation—Richard Beck, Charles E. Stansfield and Henry T. Hodgkin. The work of the Deputation will certainly mark an epoch in Christian activity on the Island, and should be studied by all Friends alive to the importance of efforts for the spread of the Gospel in all lands. This 196-page pamphlet may be obtained for one shilling.

Mary J. Taber, of New Bedford, Mass., an ex-Friend, author of "Just a Few Friends," has written another book, *Bathsheba's Letters to her Cousin Deborah, 1831-1861* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 7½ by 5, pp. 253). Here is one letter:

"11th mo. 6th, 1838.

"Dear Cousin Deborah

"I had a 'heart to heart' talk with mother to-day, or I set out to have one. I told her I was growing wickeder every day. . . . She said, 'What ails my child? I never heard such talk. I shall have to send thee to bed without thy supper if thee does not stop right now.' So that was the end of my heart to heart talk with mother."²

Several articles by Edward Grubb, which appeared in last year's volume of "The British Friend," have been gathered together into pamphlet form, entitled *Separations: Their Causes and Effects. Studies in Nineteenth Century Quakerism* (London: Headley, 6½ by 4, pp. 159, 1s. net). The Separations referred to are those in America in 1827, 1842, 1845, and 1854, and the "Beacon" Controversy in England in 1836. There are also chapters on Joseph John Gurney, The Rise and Spread of Pastoralism, The Present Position, and The Problem of Correspondence. Large use has been made of books and tracts in D.

In the third number of *Present Day Papers, A Monthly Journal for the Presentation of Vital and Spiritual Christianity* (Haverford, Pa., and Headley Brothers, London, 6d. per copy, or 6s. 6d. per year post paid), there are articles by Eleanor D. Wood, Georgina King Lewis, George H. Ferris, Clarence C. Clark, and others. It is to be hoped that the appearance of the magazine may improve as time goes on, at present it must be considered poor—the page-headings are specially weak, and the inner title page and half-title unattractive.

Our Friend, Joseph Burt Davy, has recently resigned his post as Government Botanist in the Department of Agriculture in South Africa, and has become Botanist to the Agricultural Supply Association of Johannesburg. There is a several-column account of his new work, in the *Johannesburg Sunday Post*, of January 25, under the title "How to Grow Maize. Mr. Burt-Davy's New Activities."

NORMAN PENNEY.

² It is to be feared that there are Quaker parents to-day equally out of touch with the thoughts and feelings of their children.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- D.=The Reference Library of London Y.M., at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.
Camb. Jnl.=*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.
D.N.B.=*The Dictionary of National Biography*.
F.P.T.=*"The First Publishers of Truth,"* published by the Friends Historical Society, 1907.
H.S.P.=The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, located at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

JOHN WOOLMAN'S ANCESTRY.—Is anything known of the English ancestry of John Woolman? The name John Woolman occurs in the Quaker records at Painswick, Gloucestershire, down to 1691.

JOHN BELLERS AND ROBERT OWEN.—We have received the following interesting extract from the *Life* of Robert Owen, written by himself (Effingham Wilson, 1857, vol. i., p. 240):

"I have been reminded of several occurrences deserving notice in this volume.

"One of these is the accidental discovery, by Francis Place,' when he was re-arranging his library and putting out what he deemed useless and worthless printed papers, as these were being swept out, of an old pamphlet written 150 years before by John Bellars. As Mr. Place was at that time very much interested in my 'New Views,' he immediately brought this pamphlet to me, saying, 'I have made a great discovery—of a work advocating

¹ Francis Place (1771-1854), reformer and writer. See *Life*, by Graham Wallis, 1898.

your social views a century and a half ago.'"

FRIENDS AND PEACE.—Margaret E. Hirst, of 5, High Street, Saffron Walden, Essex, has been appointed by the Woodbrooke Extension Committee and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, to prepare a history of the Peace principles and practices of the Society of Friends from George Fox to modern times. Our Friend would be very glad to receive

(i.) information of any early unpublished instances of the statement of peace principles by Friends, and

(ii.) striking and unhackneyed matter bearing on the question.

WORCESTER AND BRISTOL.—Harold Waring Atkinson, of Northwood, Middlesex, has presented to D. a MS. list of boys at school at Worcester, circa 1764,

² This was Bellers's *Proposals for Raising a Colledge of Industry*, 1695. Robert Owen (1771-1858) circulated 1,000 copies of this tract, and included it in the appendices to his *Life*.

probably made by Thomas Beavington, of Ross (1754-1837), and also a list of Friends in Bristol, 1819.

PEGG THE POTTER (xi. 45).—There is further reference to William Pegg in Mrs. W. H. Bell's book on *Old English China*, recently published :

"Mrs. Hodgson tells again the story of an English potter, improvident and starving, who, in a New York window, saw some forged pieces signed with his name, and hurled a stone through the window. He died that night in the cells—a tale in little of the world and neglected genius. These men were sensitive craftsmen with strict consciences and pride in their work. How strict their consciences could be is seen in the story of Pegg the Quaker, a flower-painter of the Derby school. He stood like Gobbo between his promptings as a man of art, who loved what was beautiful, and his conscience as a man of religion, who thought that to practise art for decoration's sake was sinful. At one time he tore himself from the factory and made stockings for a livelihood : ' I was employed in making neat silk stockings ; but I felt uneasy at the kind of work, because the hose was more for show than use. I often blushed with guilt when I reflected on it, considering that I was as much wrong in that kind of work as in painting china. I gave it up and took to cotton work. In that I was more easy ; but I had to put some ornament (for what was called clocks) in the cotton hose, that gave me some uneasiness ; but I prevailed on my

employers to let me make the stockings without clocks, and that gave me relief.' The artist in Pegg would not, however, be denied. For a time he went back to the factory ; and it is only just to the common-sense of the Quaker brethren to record that he went back with their absolution and approval. Nevertheless, Pegg died a fishmonger."

STATISTICS OF AMERICAN FRIENDS, c. 1860.—Can any of our readers give approximately the number of Friends in America of all bodies about the year 1860 ?

HISTORY OF FRIENDS' FOREIGN MISSION WORK.—Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, 15, Devonshire Street, London, E.C., is collecting material in reference to the development of foreign missionary interest in the Society of Friends. He would be glad to correspond with any of our readers who possess letters or documents likely to bear on this subject.

DEATH OF HENRY T. WAKE.—The following is taken from the columns of the *Mid Derby Courier*, of 10th January, 1914 :

"The Society of Friends at Fritchley, for which the village is noted, has lost their veteran member, Mr. Henry Thomas Wake, who passed away on Thursday of last week at the age of 82.

"The late Mr. Wake was born at Whittlebury, Northamptonshire, on April 29th, 1831, and was a descendant of Hereward the Wake, immortalised by Kingsley. He received the earlier portion

of his education at Brackley Grammar School, afterwards being at Towcester Church of England Academy. In connection with his scholastic days at the former place, he used to relate that the pupils there were required every month to emulate the scholars under the control of Wackford Squeers, a bucket of brimstone and treacle being brought round, and each pupil being required to swallow a spoonful of the mixture. At the age of sixteen he obtained an appointment as clerk in the Colonial Bank, London, where he stayed three years, and afterwards, through the personal influence of the late Earl of Southampton, he secured a good position as a clerk in the draughtsman's office at the East India Co.'s offices and was a calculator of ship's tonnage. Whilst there he became acquainted with Ruskin and Thomas and Jane Carlyle, and, at the request of the latter author, Mr. Wake designed the book plate, afterwards used by Carlyle.

"It was during his stay at the East India offices that he became attracted to the tenets of the Quakers, a fellow clerk drawing his attention to several Friends' publications. The late Mr. Wake then secured George Fox's writings, and was so impressed by them that, although born of parents of Wesleyan persuasion, he gradually drifted towards the Friends' Society, ultimately becoming a member. This decision resulted in his giving up the position he held with the East India Company.

"Shortly afterwards Mr. Wake obtained a position as tutor with William Sutton, of Scotby, Carlisle, where he stayed three years.

From there he removed to Cocker-mouth and was in business in that place as a dealer in antiquities and books pertaining to the Friends' Society. In 1879 he came to reside in the neighbourhood of Fritchley and lived in the district to the close of life.

"The late Mr. Wake leaves a widow and seven children, most of whom are resident in Canada. One of his sons died recently at Whitehaven. His grandchildren are also very numerous.

"At the interment, which took place at the Friends' Burial Ground, Furnace, on Monday, a large number of people were present, including representatives of the Society from Fritchley, Matlock, Nottingham, Stockport, Birmingham and London.

JOHN STORER, OF NOTTINGHAM (ii. 134, vii. 145n, x. 120, 129, 259).—The names of John Storer's parents were Jonathan and Rebecca; they were not Friends, at least at the time of John's birth, 1725/6. John Storer married Sarah Northin, of Norwich, in 1762. Their daughter, Sarah, was born the same year, and a short time afterwards the mother died. Sarah, junior, married Thomas Jowitt, of Nottingham, late of Leeds, in 1784.

John Storer married, secondly, 1764, Hannah, daughter of Thomas and Hannah Sparrow, of Maplestead, Essex (*Corder Family*, 1885). Hannah Storer, widow, deceased anno 1821.

Hannah Storer, sister of John, married Joseph Robinson, of Birningham, 1763 (see *THE JOURNAL*, x. 51n).

"Quakerism Past and Present"

The Quakers Past and Present, by Dorothy M. Richardson (London: Constable, 7½ by 5, pp. viii. + 96, 1s. net). This is a well and freshly-written book. Miss Richardson, though bearing a Friendly name, does not come of Quaker stock; she has only recently become acquainted with Friends and their principles, but the book shows much insight into conditions past and present. Her chapters are entitled: The Birth of Quakerism, The Society of Friends, The Quaker Church, The Retreat of Quakerism, Quakerism in America, Quakerism and Women, The Present Position. The subject is treated from the mystical and conservative point of view. Of J. J. Gurney we read:

"Coming of old Quaker stock, though religious and pious and full of zeal for the salvation of the world, he never grasped the essentials of Quakerism," but "His strong persuasive personality revived the enthusiasm of the imitative mass of the Society and once more the Quakers faced the world. . . . They were a little band, tempered and disciplined by their century of quiet cultivation of the Quaker faith and method, and they were at once available for a share, strikingly disproportionate to their numbers, in the evangelical work of an awakening Christendom" (pp. 82, 83).

The chapter "Quakerism and Women" is timely:

"Amongst the Quakers the particularized home, with its isolated woman cut off from any responsible share in the life of 'the world' and associating mainly with other equally isolated women, is unknown. . . . She is in touch with her stake and her responsibility in regard to every single activity of the Meeting of which she is a member. . . . Because amongst the Quakers, in a very true and deep sense, the world is home and home is the world, because, in other words, the inner is able without obstruction to flow out and realize itself in the outer, the sense of family life, of home, and fireside, is particularly sweet and strong" (pp. 78-80).

It is somewhat surprising to read (p. 56n) that "Penn attempted to bribe the secretaries when the charter was drawn up, to abolish the *Penn* prefixed to *Sylvania*," but in a letter to Robert Turner, he writes: "I went to the king to have it altered . . . nor could twenty guineas more to the Under-Secretary vary the name."¹

There is a slight anachronism on p. 68—the "walking purchase" came before not after the Revolution.

¹ Quoted in Webb's *Penns and Penningtons*, 1867, p. 329.

ERRATA.—On p. 4 of last issue, for Nottingham read *Northampton*. On p. 15, n. 2, for Mary (Burlingham) Southall, read Mary (Prichard) Southall.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

George Fox to Margaret Fox, from Worcester and London, 1673:4

JN *The Journal of George Fox* (Camb. ed. ii. 284) we are told that information respecting the writer's imprisonment in Worcester could be obtained from his letters to his wife—"as by my letters to M: ff: farther Appareth as followeth." But no such letters are now included in the *Journal* MSS.

It is curious and interesting that four of these missing letters have been found—or rather have come to our knowledge without definite search—one from Northumberland, one from Devonshire, one from London, and one from Pennsylvania!

We have great pleasure in presenting them in whole or in part to our readers, as follows:

I.

This letter is among early Etting Papers in H.S.P. (p. 51). It is printed from a copy made recently, and has been checked by a photograph of the original, sent over *per* Gilbert Cope for this purpose.

George Fox and Thomas Lower were arrested at Armscott on the 17th of the Tenth Month, 1673, and lodged in Worcester jail. They were brought up at the Sessions about the middle of the next month, shortly after which this letter was written. Margaret Fox and her daughter Rachel were travelling northward with G. F. and T. L., and continued their journey within a few days of the arrest (Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 269).

der [hart] to whom is my loue & the rest of frends & thy Childern sarye & suasones & der rachell¹ i deser ther groth in the trouth & in the wisdom of god that by it you may all be orderd to his glory & not to touch nothing but the life in any & to be sepretated from the evell & to stand as nasereys consecratd to god that in the life all may be agod saver to god i recud thy leter by 1: f² & another from r: t³ from londen & shee strangeth that thee hath not writen to her for shee & the rest of londen frends generall thinkes that thou ar with mee in preson & did stay & not gon in to the north & ther for thou should wright to her & them for the oft rembing ther loue as tho thou was her[c] & doe not think that thou art gon wee have sent all paseges to londen & t⁴ louer hath given you a Count of the seshones all people disliketh the iuesterses proceding & saith it is like to boner⁴ & som clapd ther handes & said it was a snar soe be ouer all & out of all free & not in bondeg vnder out ward things bring things even & stright that thou may be free soe noe mor but my loue gff woster gale mo : 11 : day 21 1673 :

wheat was the last seuent day at seuen & six pence abueshell & 4 shilens pease & barley & woats 2 shilens abueshell & the poore people ar redy to mutany in the market her is such a cry for corne to make them bread her was a great stor with the mare & the people son sales [?] was out but the lordes pouer is ouer all gff

& rie at seuen & this 4 day ther was a great vp rore lykes that the mare & constables was faine to pese the people for the cut the bages

[Addressed in a contemporary hand]

ffor M: ff: these att
Swarthmoore

[Endorsed in Geo. Fox's hand]

gf to mff 1673
at woster

¹ Sarah, Susanna and Rachel Fell.

² Leonard Fell, see Camb. *Jnl.*

³ Rebecca Travers, see Camb. *Jnl.*

⁴ That is, Bonner, Bishop of London, d. 1569. See the same comparison in a letter from Fox to Whitehead, written four days earlier (Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 270).

[Endorsed in a modern hand]

George Fox

Worcester Jail

11mo 21, 1673

to

Margaret Fox

Swarthmore.

II.

In a note to the literature of the Worcester imprisonment, printed vol. ii. p. 449 of the *Camb. Jnl.*, there is a reference to a letter from G. Fox to his wife, dated 4th of Second Month, 1674, a transcript of which, edited by William Fletcher, of Brigham Hill, Cockermouth, appeared in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1894.

This letter was then in the possession of W. Fletcher, but in 1897 he presented it to Dr. Thomas Hodgkin. The original is now in D. on a short loan from the family of the late Dr. Hodgkin, who have given permission for it to appear in THE JOURNAL.

The sheet on which the letter was written was headed by two notes written and signed by Edward Reynolds. Then follow, without any ascription, thirty-five lines written by G. F. and twenty-one by another writer who also adds the signature "G: ff:" and the date. Five separate handwritings are to be found on this sheet (see notes).

George Fox tells us in his *Journal* that after he had attended the Sessions at Worcester, in Eleventh Month, 1673, he was removed to London for trial. According to this letter he returned to Worcester on the last day of the First Month following.

The black cloth was gone by henry perger Carier his being is at bilson neare wouluer hampton in staford sheire to be left with John higgins in Lancaster for him to send to Sarah fell at swartmore.

The black hare for cloth was deliuered to Ezekiel partridg in stowerbridg and he promised to send it by henry baker afrend whos being is neare bolton in lancessheire to be left with John higgins in lancaster to

be sent to sarah fell at swartmore according to Thomas lowers order to me

EDWARD REYNOLDS.⁵

j came to woster on the last day of the i month on the 3d: j was brought in to the cort & torner my ould percuter & he asked mee what i did deser & i said my lebarty & hee said that i lay consaring the oath & i spake to them as iuesed to doe & aske him whoe the oath was to be taken⁶ was it not to the King & a ganst the pope & he said yes & j said that j was cast in to darby dongall 6: mo: be cas i wald not be a capting a ganst the king at this toun of woster & the gentry was all astoneshed & starteld & exced modrat & the iudge said that i was arashanall man & i gaue them a count of my frest commitment & how my mother had a deser to see mee be for shee died & j sent her word of my coming & when shee hard of my being stoped by ther im presen mee it strok her to the hart that shee died & the iudge said that i might put in bale & i said that was an other snare & many of us had ben snared by it but if it was this for my aperance at the asheshones if the lord gave mee health & life & libarty i should a per & he said that i must get bale but J did for warneall frendes of that the pouer of the lord was ouer all & parker & his company that had brought mee on ther one heades was tormentd & he had ingagd to richard canon⁷ at london of seting mee at libarty & when he came in to the contary he bostd that he was to nimbell for the quakers & canon & eles houkes lay plocking at the tale of parker & was the worst enemy that i had in the cort as one in pouer tould a frende & som people said thath jf j had had my libar i would tred the iudge & all them as dort &

⁵ These two paragraphs clearly illustrate the difficulties of transportation as compared with the easy and direct methods of the present day. The subscriber was probably the Worcester Friend of that name mentioned by Besse (*Suff.* ii. 69, 70).

⁶ The words "be taken" form an interlineation made by Thomas Lower, who was Fox's companion in captivity.

⁷ Richard Cannon, of London (c. 1625-1688), is described in the register of the death of his wife, Sarah (c. 1625-1688), as "innholder," in Fetter Lane. He was one of the Friends appointed in 1671 to care for the Quaker prisoners in the Fleet (*Sundry Ancient Epistles*, p. 40, MS. in D.). A son, Richard, was born in 1665.

atrompld them under his feat the lord be presd the seed was ouer all & the pres was troden as at london.⁸

And some y^t was in y^e Court y^t was in powre said y^t Parker was the worst Enimie y^t wee and J had in in-senceing y^e Judge against me, And some of y^e Justices y^t was aboue him stopped him and oposed him, and here you may see R : C : & A : H :⁹ was Lugging at the taile and plucked me in to the ditch who had such A Confidence in deceitefull Parker but the Lords Power was over all beyond words And Bradala¹⁰ and G : Roberts and Ed : Brookes¹¹ was wth me and very much refresh'd in the Lords Power w^{ch} was over all, and the Judges sonne said y^t Parker said some tymes one thing and some tymes a Nother y^t is J should haue my Libertie and aNother tyme not y^t he could not tell what for to make of his words And the Judge saw y^t they had Noething against me and it was his minde for to sett me a Libertie but they desire to put it off vnto y^e sessions And he gave order y^t then J should haue my Libertie and not for to trouble y^e Assizes wth it And the Justices were Generally willing and Loveing this w[as] in privett, And the people was Loveing, And the Justices ha[ue] promised y^t J should haue my Libertie in the town and Lodg[e] at a friends house till sessions, J could writte much but the Bearer cañot stay My Love to you all and all freinds

Mo : 2^d : day y^e

G : ff :

4th 1674

[Addressed]

this for m : ff
at swartmar in
fornes

lanksher

⁸ From here to the end in another hand.

⁹ Should doubtless be E : H. = Ellis Hookes.

¹⁰ The unusual name *Bray D'Oyly* troubled several of our early writers. Here it appears as *Bradala*; G. F. wrote *pray diles* (Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 449) ! Fox was at this Friend's house shortly before his apprehension, and he is mentioned in connection with the Worcester improvement in Fox's *Journal* (Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 293. and see note 293. 1; "E. B." doubtless stood for Edward *Brookes* and not Edward *Bourne* as there suggested).

¹¹ Perhaps, Edward Brookes, of the family of that name living at or near Charlbury, Oxon; he died in 1724—"An Ancient Man" says the Burial Register.

[Endorsement] for m ff by
 gff 1674 at
 woster y^e 4th day of 2^d month
 (18) done.¹²
 readouer.

III.

A. Midgley Cash, M.D., of Torquay, has recently deposited in D. a miscellaneous and valuable collection of Quakeriana, in which there is an original letter from G. Fox to his wife, not dated as to year, but probably written in 1674.

We are told in the *Camb. Jnl.* (ii. 285) that Fox was "tost to & from [Worcester] to London: & from London to Worcester againe: three times." It appears that shortly after writing letter no. II. occurred one of these removals to London, and that during his residence in the south letter no. III. was written.

der loue to whom is my loue in the seed that is ouer all & to thomas & all the childeren & frends live in the peasabel life & trouth that the lord may be glory fid in you all that hath porshd & bought you i did right from Canbary & e: man from london & consaring the black cloth edward ranales to take care abought it¹³ & that you might retorn that mony you speake of to: e: man for mee & j have ben at london abought a weeke & have a copy of my in dit ment & nothing is don as yet but the would be wiling to get it of & wee shall see this terme the people of the seshons was like frends & the lordes pouer was ouer all & the ar uery fare g: robards was with som of woster sher ofisers since the cam to london & doe pretend much som of them that mouesed formorly for my going to woster e sbell¹⁴ was well latly & margret¹⁵ but her leg is very weeke¹⁶ the lord stringen it pore womon shee is

¹² The words "y^e 4th day of 2^d month (18) done" are in a different hand, but the same writing appears in a similar position in original letters belonging to the *Journal* MSS.

¹³ See letter no. II.

¹⁴ That is, Isabel Yeamans, daughter of Margaret (Fell) Fox. See *Camb. Jnl.*

¹⁵ Margaret Rous, *née* Fell. See *Camb. Jnl.*

¹⁶ See Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 231.

exsersisd but i would haue her geet a place of rest & to
setell her mind in this is john gay¹⁷ that that had his nick
broke out of the jent that i doe send this by soe in hast my
loue in the life

gff
mon : 3 day 17 :

Kingston.

IV.

Among a collection of manuscripts owned by the late Sir Joseph Cockfield Dimsdale, Baronet, of London, a portion of which has recently been sold, was a letter from George Fox to his wife, written in London, and dated 7th of Fifth Month, 1674, on one of his visits to the Metropolis during the Worcester "imprisonment," perhaps the same visit as that mentioned in connection with letter No. III. A description of the letter with extract appeared in a catalogue issued by Walter V. Daniell, of London, in November, 1913, and a representative of the F.H.S. inspected the letter, but was not permitted to make a copy. The letter was priced fourteen guineas, and was sold to a gentleman residing in Philadelphia. A request made on behalf of the F.H.S. for permission to photograph it has been declined.

The letter begins :

Der Hart to whom is my loue to all the children & Thomas & all the rest of frends in the truth.

¹⁷ This is the only confirmation of which we have knowledge, of the statement made by Richard Richardson (*Camb. Jnl.* ii. 437), that John Jay visited Europe. The same authority records Jay's death in Dublin in this year (1674).

My mother related a circumstance that occurred after she returned from her first sojourn among the Indians at Tunesassa. She was at the house of Samuel Swayne, where Thomas Shillitoe was dining. Mother entered the room and was introduced as Mary Nutt, just come from among the Indians. Thomas dropped his knife and fork, bowed his head, and presently said, "And thou wilt be back there." This surprised mother, as she thought she was through, but afterwards found that her peace consisted in returning to her work among the Indians.

Presentations in Episcopal Visitations, 1662:1679

Continued from page 14

LINCOLNSHIRE Arranged in Wapentakes

ALSACOE WAPENTAKE

INGHAM. 1662. Aug^t 25. Martha Wright widdow
—for refusing to come to Church.

Martha Wright widdow—for refusing to come to
Church; being comonly reported to bee a quaker.

22 Septem. 1662. Saith that shee will not goe to
y^e Church, ex.

1662. Oct. 31. Martha Wright—a reputed quaker,
ex *entea*.

1663. April 28. Martha Wright—professes
Quakerisme.

1663-4. Martha Wright, a quaker—not coming to
Church.

1664. Aug^t 10. Martha Wright—stands excoicate.

1664. Oct. 24. Martha Wright—for refusing their
publick Church assemblies, holding with the Quakers.

LOUTHESKE WAPENTAKE

Legburn (Leyburn) cum Manby.

Manby cum Capella.

1662. Nov. Edward Willis—for a willful contempt
in not baptiseinge his Child, 2 Jun. 1662.

Faith Godwind—for the like.

Richard Page—for haveing 2 children unbaptised
21 Jun. 1662.

Richard Davison—for haveing 1 child unbaptised.

Robert Graves—for haveing 3 children unbaptised.

Tho. Richardson¹—for haveing 2 children unbaptised.

¹ "Tho: Richardeson in y^e ffen country whoe after dyed a prisoner
for truth" (Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 321, 464).

Presentations in Episcopal Dioceses 1862-1879

Continued from page 14

LINCOLNSHIRE Arranged in Wapentakes

ALSTON WAPENTAKE

1862. Aug. 25. Martha Wright wid-
—for refusing to come to Church.
Martha Wright widow—for refusing to come
Church; being commonly reported to be a Quaker.
22 Septem. 1862. Smith that she will not go
to Church, &c.
1862. Oct. 31. Martha Wright—a reputed Quaker
—refused.
1863. April 28. Martha Wright—protes-
1863-4. Martha Wright, a Quaker—not coming
Church.
1864. Aug. 30. Martha Wright—stands exco-
1864. Oct. 24. Martha Wright—for refusing to
public Church assemblies, holding with the Quakers
1864. Nov. Edward Willis—for a willful contemp-
in not baptizing his child, 2 Jan. 1865.
Faith Godwin—for the like.
Richard Page—for having a children unbaptized
21 Jan. 1865.
Richard Davison—for having a child unbaptized.
Robert Graves—for having a children unbaptized.
The Richardson—for having a children unbaptized.
—The Richardson in a Quaker who after died a Quaker
for some time. (Name Jan. 1865.)

LOUTHES WAPENTAKE

1864. Nov. Edward Willis—for a willful contemp-
in not baptizing his child, 2 Jan. 1865.
Faith Godwin—for the like.
Richard Page—for having a children unbaptized
21 Jan. 1865.
Richard Davison—for having a child unbaptized.
Robert Graves—for having a children unbaptized.
The Richardson—for having a children unbaptized.
—The Richardson in a Quaker who after died a Quaker
for some time. (Name Jan. 1865.)

Mary late wife of Edw. Ward and now the wife of Chrofer Thompson—for haveing 1 child unbaptised.

Tho. Richardson—for providing a pculiar burieing place upon his owne ground wherein severall psons have been lately interred. vii^s.

—all Quakers—psented in the Bp^{ps} Office.

KIRTON WAPENTAKE

Sutterton (? *Wibberton*).

Tho: Anglesham, Alexand^r Awbie, W^m Grame, Widdow Barton, W^m Mawer, Abel Marshall—for refusing to come to the publiq services of the Church & for having children unbaptised. Quakers—susp^d in the Bp^{ps} office.

W^m Mawer for haveing 4 children unbaptised, Widdow Barton for haveing 3 children unbaptised—susp^d in the Bp^{ps} office.

HOLLAND WAPENTAKE

PINCHBECK. 1662. Nov. Thomas Forman—a Quaker.

HOLLAND ELLOE WAPENTAKE

HOLBEACH. 1662. Nov. Mary, Servant to the said Rob^t Preeman—shee being a professed Quaker and an enemy to the doctrine & discipline of the Church of England.

1663. Mar. 31. Ditto [save that the master's name is given as Rob^t Pottman].

Whapload or *Whaplond*. 1662. Nov. 7. Lawrence Moule—for not coming to the publique assemblies. A Quaker.

Tho. Manley, —Waters wid, Salome Water, Rob^t Haynes—for the same. Quakers.

Ralph Anthony—a Quaker for refusing to come to his pishe Church.

John Anthony, W^m Anthony—for the like.

— ux Tho. Wilkinson—for a Quaker & for keeping one of his children unbaptised.

— Stone—for a Quaker & for not cominge to her pishe Church

G. LYON TURNER.

To be continued

Friends in Montgomeryshire

IN the *Inventory* for this county, issued by the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire, are the following references to Friends' Meeting Houses and Burial Grounds, all of which have been visited for the Commission by its Assistant Inspecting Officer, George Eyre Evans.

DOLGARADOG, parish of UWCH Y GARREG
(6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Mont. 33, N.W.; lat. $52^{\circ} 34' 3''$;
long. $3^{\circ} 46' 47''$.)

The Friends' Burial Ground, known locally as "Clawdd Quakers," is situated a few yards south of the barn on Dolgaradog farm. The former fence or hedge has disappeared, but the outline of the small enclosure, 50ft. by 30ft., is plainly to be traced. No headstones are visible. A few trees flourish on the ground. The door to "ty cwrdd Quakers"—the Meeting House, leads into a small room, now used as the farm store-room. —Visited 21st April, 1910.

This house of Friends was in the Quarterly Meeting of Merionethshire, Montgomeryshire and Salop; there are references to it in the MS. Minute Book, 1668-1752, now kept in the Friends' Meeting House at Worcester. See also a short article in *Mont. Coll.* 1891, xxv., 353."

GARTH BWLCH, QUAKERS' YARD, parish of LLANWDDYN
(6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Mont. 8, S.W.; lat. $52^{\circ} 45' 1''$;
long. $3^{\circ} 27' 53''$.)

A Burial Ground belonging to the Society of Friends, on the farm of Bryn Cownwy, the western outskirts of Coed Garthbwlch, and one mile south of the modern village of Llanwddyn. It is not marked on the Ordnance sheet. It stands enclosed by a modern fence on the high ground close behind Bryn Cownwy, the large stone-paved kitchen of which was formerly used as the Friends' Meeting House. The inscription on an erect slate stone, recently placed in the middle of the small enclosure, is as follows:

"Site of the old Quaker Burial Ground attached to Garth Bwlch: 13 bodies are said to have been interred herein. Actual records shew that David Lloyd (died in 1685), and John Thomas Morris of Bryn Cownwy (died in or about 1751) were of the number. Erected in 1910, at the cost of 4 members of the Society of Friends."

Visited 31st August, 1910.

QUAKERS' GARDEN, parish of LLANGURIG
(6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Mont. 47, S.E.; lat. $52^{\circ} 24' 41.5''$;
long. $3^{\circ} 33' 18''$.)

A walled Burial Ground, 30ft. by 30ft., just north of Nantgwernog farm, and $\frac{1}{4}$ mile east of the third mile-stone from Llanidloes to Llangurig. The low gate faces east, on it is a cast-iron plate inscribed, "FRIENDS' BVRIAL GROVND, 1708." A well-worn path connects it with the lane leading into the high-road. The entrance is shadowed by two aged holly trees; no memorial stones mark the graves, the forms of some of which are yet visible. This burial ground, which is excellently kept, is not shown upon the Ordnance Survey sheet. It was granted to the Friends for a term of 2,000 years on a yearly peppercorn rent, the lease being dated 25th 1st mo. [March], 1708, from which date until within living memory it was the place of interment of the once numerous Society of Friends meeting at Llanidloes.—Visited 3rd October, 1910.

QUAKERS' GARDEN, parish of TREFEGLWYS
(6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Mont. 34, S.W.; lat. $52^{\circ} 31' 8''$;
long. $3^{\circ} 38' 15''$.)

This little Burial Ground, 36 feet square, is known in the annals of the Society of Friends as that of "Esgair goch," the name of "Staylittle" (or "Stay a little") for the hamlet, about 400 yards to the south-west, only coming into use early in the nineteenth century. The graves are now barely discernible, but they are remembered as being arranged in three parallel rows. The rude stone wall which formerly enclosed it, having become ruinous, has recently been replaced by wire fencing. On the gate is an iron label inscribed—"FRIENDS' BVRIAL GROVND, 1711." Adjoining the ground, and now used as an out-

house of the farm of Esgair goch, is the shell of the stone building, formerly the Meeting House, with its heavy oaken beams still supporting the roof.—Visited 28th June, 1910.

Abiah Darby's Dream¹

ABIAH DARBY retired to rest one night and dreamed that she saw a kitchen and the cook standing by the fire stirring something in a saucepan, then she saw her leave the kitchen and a man enter stealthily and approach the saucepan and drop something in; then she saw the cook return and pour the contents of the saucepan into a basin and take it up to her master, who was ill in bed—upon which she awoke.

She knew that there was at that time in Shrewsbury jail a young woman convicted of poisoning her master, and sentenced to death, and though her dream seemed strange she thought she need not trouble about it, and on falling asleep again she dreamed precisely the same thing, but without feeling she need arouse herself.

The third time she fell asleep, and for the third time the same scene appeared to pass before her.

It so impressed her that she felt she must get up at once, and she called her maid and told her to tell the coachman to put her horses into the coach, as she wished to drive to Shrewsbury at once (about fourteen miles distance). On arriving there, she enquired for the Judge, but found the Assize there was over, and the Judge had gone to the Assize at Hereford, so she ordered fresh horses to be put into the coach and drove immediately to Hereford, where arriving, she found that the Judge was at lunch. She waited till he had done, was admitted to see him and told him her story, which had such effect upon him, that he asked, if he could procure a reprieve and pardon for the accused, whether she would be willing to receive the prisoner into her service as cook. She replied she would most gladly do so. He told her that she would have to wait until the entire Circuit was finished, when the Judges would meet in London, and it would be brought before the Home Secretary.

The woman was reprieved through the influence of the Judge, and Abiah Darby took her into her service as cook, but the troubles she had experienced had affected her health and brought on consumption.

About twelve months afterwards the nephew of her deceased master, who had come into his property, being on his death-bed, sent for her, and confessed to her that he had himself put poison in the saucepan while she was absent from the kitchen. He felt afraid that his uncle would hear of his gambling habits and would cut him off from inheriting his estate.

¹ For Abiah Darby (1716-1794) see THE JOURNAL, x.

She took her cook in her carriage to pay this visit, and the face of this gentleman corresponded with the face of the man she had seen in her dream, as also did the face of the cook.

This anecdote is due to the recollections of Mrs. Hammer, the aunt of the latter having married Abiah Darby's nephew, Samuel Thompson.

F. L. RAWLINS,

by the courtesy of Miss LUCY SOUTHALL.

A Quaint Effusion

THE following is the copy of a letter addressed to Ezra Enock, a Friend, who at the time was a watchmaker in London, and who afterwards returned to his native village of Sibford near Banbury:

"Friend Enock,—I have sent thee my erroneous Watch which wants thy due care and Correction, the last Time he was at thy School, he was no Ways Benefitted by thy Instruction, for the Index of his Tongue is a liar, his Motion is unsettled & wavering, which makes me believe he is not right in the Inward Man, take him & with thy purging stick, purge him from all Pollution so that he may Vibrate & Circulate according to Truth, but when thou doest him, do him without Passion least by severity thou drive him to Distraction. Set him by the Sun & regulate him by the equation Table & bring him home with a bill of Moderation & thou shalt be paid by thy Friend &c.

"JOHN H. GILES."

"Leman St,

"Goodmans Fields,

"Jan^y 11. 1827."

It would be interesting to know if the writer of this epistle was a Friend. The letter bears the water-mark 1826.

Preston.

DILWORTH ABBATT.

For a similar effusion, see Pike's *Quaker Anecdotes*, 1881, p. 54.

Thomas Ellwood writes:

"This latter meeting was like the clinching of a nail, confirming and fastening in my mind those good principles which had sunk into me at the former. My understanding began to open, and I felt some stirrings in my breast, tending to the work of a new creation in me. . . And now I saw that although I had been in a great degree preserved from the pollutions of the world, yet there were many plants growing in me which were not of the Heavenly Father's planting, and that all these must be plucked up."

History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood.

A Journey of Margaret Fox into Yorkshire, 1672

THE journey here described by Rachel Fell belongs to a period of the life of Margaret Fox of which little appears. Her husband had left for America in the previous autumn, shortly after her discharge from Lancaster Castle, and we may presume that the time of his absence was one of comparative freedom from persecution for the residents at Swarthmoor Hall, which would enable M. Fox to help forward the Quaker movement by both pen and presence. Her youngest daughter, Rachel (*aft.* Abraham), then about nineteen, accompanied her on this journey.

The manuscript is a portion of the collection of the late James Midgley, of Rochdale, now deposited in D., and known as the Cash Collection.

wee Went from Swarthmore the 19th day of y^e
2 month 1672 from swarthmoore to John Moors¹ that
day 03² miles a metien there on the 1 day from thence
on the 22 day of the same month to Cealle houes³ 12 miles
hade meeting there from thence to Bouten bridge⁴ 6 miles
from thence to thomas Goodhear[t]⁵ of the forest 6 miles
ameten there from thence to Peter Hadcastell⁶ 4 miles

¹ John Moore resided at Eldroth in the parish of Clapham, N.W. Yorks. His wife was Mary, daughter of Thomas and Anne Camm. Their daughter Eleanor travelled extensively in the ministry (d. 1725). See *Camb. Jnl.*; *Jnl. F.H.S.* ii. 35, ix. 203, x. 221.

² 03 must be an error for 30. The distance from Eldroth to Swarthmoor is given at the close of the MS. as 27 miles.

³ *Scalehouse* is some four miles north of Skipton. A General Meeting was held here in 1658 of Friends from ten northern counties. Richard Scostthrop (1628-1661) was a native of this district. See *F.P.T.*

⁴ *Bolton Bridge*, on the river Wharfe.

⁵ The name *Goodheart* has not been found in the Yorkshire Registers or in Besse's *Sufferings*. The forest was probably the forest of Knaresborough.

⁶ Peter Hardcastle (d. 1692) resided at Hartwith in the parish of Kirkby Malzeard, a small place in the Nidd Valley. Other members of the same family lived around.

from thence to Repone 6 miles thence to Hoske⁷ 7 miles from thence to Borebee⁸ 4 milles ameten there from Borebee to Stocksle [Stokesley] 10 miles from thence to Hamelltone⁹ 4 milles ameten there from Hamelltone to Lasienbee¹⁰ 5 milles from thence to Gisbroah 3 milles from thence to Leuerton¹¹ 5 milles had a meetien theare from thence to Lethe [? Lythe] 7 miles to Whitbee 3 milles a meetien there from thence to Carbroe [Scarborough] 12 milles had ameeitien theare—from thence to Borlinton Key a metien there 12 miles from thence to Octon 8 milles thence to Mollton 11 miles thence to Thornton 6 miles ametien there thence to Molton agene 6 milles thence to Yorke 12 milles had ametien there thence to Tadcaster 8 milles ametien there thence to Leedies 10 milles a metien there. Thence to Harigate 10 milles ameeitien there from there to Willm Readshaw¹² at Beckwithshaw 2 miles, from thence to Eadon¹³ 7 miles ametien there thence to Josaway dosones¹⁴ 7 milles from there to Edwarde Watekines¹⁵ 7 thene to Ellderah 11 milles from thence to Swarthmore 27 milles on the 7 day of the 3 month 72.

⁷ Perhaps intended for *Thirsk*—the distances before and after seem about right for this town. Friends have held property here since 1666. See *F.Q.E.* 1903, 353.

⁸ *Borrowby* lies north of *Thirsk*. See the map of Yorkshire Meetings in J. W. Rowntree's *Essays and Addresses*. It was a considerable Quaker centre (*Jnl. F.H.S.* ii.).

⁹ East and West Hambleton are small places west of Guisborough and near the present Nunthorpe railway station.

¹⁰ *Lazenby* lies to the north-east of the last-named place and Guisborough south-east of *Lazenby*. John Whitehead declared Truth through these parts about twenty years before M. Fox's visit. (*F.P.T.*)

¹¹ *Liverton* became early a Quaker centre. It had seven surrounding places under its care (*Jnl. F.H.S.* ii. 75).

¹² Beckwithshaw is in the parish of Pannal. Readshaw's wife, Jane, died in 1667 and was buried at Scotton. The next year he married Ann Spence. William and Ann may have removed to Leeds; there is a record in the Registers of the death of William Readshaw in that town in 1703, and of his widow, Ann, in 1711, aged eighty-one.

¹³ Perhaps, *Yeadon*.

¹⁴ That is, *Joshua Dawson*, of Addingham (on Rachel Fell's lack of education, see *Jnl. F.H.S.* ix. 138).

¹⁵ Probably *Watkinson*. There were Friends of this name residing at or near Scalehouse.

[Endorsement]

A Memorandum of a Journey Taken by my Honour'd Grand Mother Margr^t ffox Into some parts of Yorkshire. Taken down (I see) by my Dr^r Mother who had gone with my Grand Mother being her Youngest Daughter.

J. ABRAHAM.

Robert Barclay writes :

" When I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power among them which touched my heart ; and, as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me and the Good raised up."

Apology, prop. xi. sect. vii.

Eighth month 20, 1894. Met with a person to-day who had great respect for Friends and wanted to know about the way to become a member, to which I replied that it took a good deal to make a Friend and more to keep him when he is made. We could not manufacture them but when the Lord made them we wanted to own them.

Joseph S. Elkinton, 1913, p. 332.

In the year 1826, Richard Jordan in the Q.M. at Haddonfield [N.J.] spoke in a prophetic manner, describing what would happen to our Society in that place, closing with, " If these things are not so, the Lord hath not spoken this day to me." Job Haines, a Friend who had hitherto travelled with Richard Jordan and been in close unity with him for many years, spoke to him after meeting, stating that the communication had been very painful to him. Richard Jordan replied, " I am not sensible that I have said any more or less than my Master bid me." R. J. did not live to see the fulfilment of what he had declared, but Job Haines did, and would relate the above circumstance with tears, saying he had learned it was as important for Elders to mind their business as Ministers theirs.

Joseph S. Elkinton, 1913, p. 73.

James Daniel, a Minister of Salem Q. M., being out on a religious visit, was at a meeting where he spoke very closely to an individual tainted with a spirit of unbelief ; said he could lay his hand on the man and said moreover that he had a book on infidelity in his pocket. It afterwards proved that there was an individual present toward whom Friends had extended much labor, and who had at that very time one of T. Paine's works in his pocket.

Joseph S. Elkinton, 1913, p. 40.

¹ See THE JOURNAL, x.

Presidential Address

AT the Annual Meeting a year ago¹ William Charles Braithwaite dealt so thoroughly with the usefulness and importance of the Friends Historical Society that it is needless for me to go over that ground. I will only echo his concluding suggestion for the visitation of Friends' Meetings in order to catalogue all documents and to enquire are there records in private hands which should be brought into the Monthly Meetings?

Friends' records in my own district (Munster Province) are at Cork in a small fire-proof room, where are a large number of minute books and other documents, records of Cork Meeting and of the extinct Meetings of Youghal, Bandon, Castle Salem, Charleville, etc. At Limerick there are a few books, at Clonmel the records are more numerous and extend back to about 1690; they include an interesting record of the families of Friends which removed from England and Wales to the County Tipperary in the seventeenth century and who mainly formed the Meetings in that county. At Waterford there is a larger collection. This rich mass of historical information is practically unexamined and awaits the historian's perusal.

Such stores have a tendency to decrease, some zealous Friend does too much spring cleaning among them.² I listened to a truly pious and benevolent Elder calmly proposing to Monthly Meeting that all the Meeting records should be burned. Another Friend at another time enquired could not the records be sold and turned into money? I think that W. C. Braithwaite's suggestion cannot come into operation too soon.

I propose to refer to some extracts from our local records which may enable us to see a little of the life of early Friends in our Province. Before doing so, I want to say how greatly we in Ireland are indebted to Dr. John Rutt, of Dublin (died 1775), who in 1751 published

¹ See THE JOURNAL, x. 181.

² See the small folder, entitled, *Preserve our History*, to be obtained gratis from the Librarian at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

his monumental work *The Rise and Progress of Friends in Ireland*, part by Thomas Wight, of Cork. This history covers from 1653 to 1751 and records the first settlement of Meetings in Ireland and the names of Ministering Friends and others in Ireland. John Ruttly was an earnest Christian (see his *Spiritual Diary*), an eminent medical practitioner, an author of works on natural history, meteorology, mineral springs, hot and cold, as well as on medicine and diseases and on religious subjects.

Two other small works give a vivid account of Friends' sufferings in Munster—Holme and Fuller's *Brief Relation of Sufferings, 1660 to 1671*, and *The Great Cry of Oppression, 1671 to 1681*; both contain sad records of Friends fined, imprisoned and otherwise punished on account of Tithes and Priests' Maintenance, for not Swearing, not observing Holy days, not supporting Worship houses, and for meeting together to worship God. Of sufferers, I will only mention Esther Lun and Sarah Spalton, imprisoned at Waterford for eight months, and Sarah Davis, a poor widow living near Clonmel, having but two lambs had one of them taken away for tithe!

And now for extracts from local records. At Waterford as early as 1655 an expulsion order was made against Quakers who were ordered to be shipped away to Bristol and committed to the care of that city.

Edward Burrough, aged 27, arrived at Waterford January, 1655-1656, and his activity may have led to the making of this expulsion order. A long interesting letter from him to Margaret Fell, dated, Waterford, 5 xi. (Jan.) 1655, is among the Swarthmore papers in D.

He had come to Waterford from Dublin *via* Kilkenny, where he had spent sixteen days, and where "a few in that city rec^d our report." In 1661 William Edmondson wrote to Margaret Fell, "I hear of many in prison at Waterford, Cork & Limerick; many Friends are fined in great sums of money for meeting."

LIBERALITY

The first Minute of Waterford M.M. tells us that Women Friends were not so absorbed in their own sufferings and local affairs as to overlook the troubles of others. It reads:

At our womens mtg, 6.3.1680.

Men friends made us acquainted that they were about contributing something to be sent to Cork towards the redeeming of some English people that were in slavery in Algeire and desired us to be contributors towards the same & indeed we could do noless than be fellow helpers for the redeeming of them out of slavery & bondage which if it were our own case we should desire the like help. . . . We made up £3 & sent it by Elinor Holme to the Womens Mtg at Cork & . . . E. H. delivered it & it was very acceptably received by friends, who sd it gave a president to the rest of the womens mtgs.

About the same time considerable sums were sent from our Province for the relief of the sufferings of Friends in England, where persecution was more severe than in Ireland.

EDUCATION

In 1675 the National Meeting at Dublin directed the Province Meetings to make enquiry for an able good Friend to teach youths and to keep school; they also enquired as to the number of children of school age. The subject of education is frequently mentioned in our minutes at Waterford.

In 1711 two Friends were appointed

to visit the schools & to take care that nothing may either be taught or given away to, that truth allows not of & to caution the mistress to be careful in her conduct to the scholars & to admit of none but such as friends has freedom with, therefore have appointed Pheby Jacobs & Robert Dennis is to go & in 6 weeks give account to the womens meeting.

[In 1717] Mary Carty that hath lived some time with Thos: Barnes for to wash his children being now about to leave him applies to friends to have their children to teach, this meeting agrees to make trial of her for some time to teach the children. 19 children from 9 families are committed to her care fees £3 per quarter for the lot, & she is to take in no other peoples children without the consent of the meeting.

In 1719 James Nelson, schoolmaster, is to get £10 per year and £8 to Jemima Badcock for his diet. Many following minutes show the continued carefulness of Friends as to education.

In 1763 the salary allowed for a schoolmaster was £50 yearly.

In the County Tipperary Friends' records we read:

Att our monthly mens meeting at Knockgraffon 12th 8^{mo} 1701.
Samuel Cooke is by this meeting ordered to treat or write too William

Douer³ an English young man, being a scullmaster & hier him for one year, too teach friends children belonging unto this and our Six weeks meeting. Clonmel is the place opinted too settle said scull in the meeting housse for the present untill Remufd by concent & order of this meeting

7 of 10 mo. 1701

Samuel Cooke advises this meeting that according to opintment & order he hath agreed with William Douer too keep scull in this County within the limits of this meeting & to instruct friends children as a scull master for which hee is to have twenty pounds for one year Sallerey he finding himself diatt lodging, &c.

Another Minute reads, 1701 :

Ordered by this meeting that all such friends that have sons abroad at School do bring them home & send them to our School at Clonmel.

OVERSIGHT

Detailed care was bestowed on members.

1716 John White & wife just married are cautioned not to buy too much furniture.

1714 A paper of condemnation read against Dorothy Ariher for purloining her mistress goods.

1714 An inventory to be made of the goods of David Hutchinson & a copy of his will—The total was £168 & the dun & grey mares but the wine would not sell @ 1/- a doz it was not good.

1722 John Badcock to assist T. Fawcett in taking care of sleepers in meeting.

some young men & others are runing into the Fashions of the world by having

1 Th^r Shoe buckles too large

2 Th^r hats tied up in 2 or 3 places

3 Th^r coats too wide in the skirt [and worst of all]

Th^r coats w'out collars & open at the breast.

It was ordered that a copy of this minute be sent to each Particular Meeting and visiting Friends to have it with them when they go on their service.

1718 Nathaniel Ruby becoming bald cut off his hair & got a wigg without consent of Friends 4 men Frds are named to visit him, he consented to put off his wig as soon as his hair was groun.

1729 Frds not to powder & curl their hair

More Christian activity is displayed in the following:

1733 The Province Meeting wants an account of Elizabeth Jacob's travels in Holland [for references to these, see THE JOURNAL, xi. 78ff.].

1736 A young peoples meeting held on first days at 6 p.m.

³ For William Dover, see THE JOURNAL, i. 110; ii. 90.

BIBLE READING

Several Minutes advise Friends to read the Holy Scriptures more regularly.

TEMPERANCE

The first Temperance Work traced is 1682, distribution of G. Fox's paper for Vintners. Munster Friends took 300 copies, a note mentions that 1,000 would cost 40s.⁴

In the same connection we must not forget Dr. John Rutty's paper against whisky drinking, about 1755.

BOOKS

Literature was liberally provided by the Meeting.

1695 Co Tipperary Frds had 24 copies of Tho^s Carletons writings [he was a Cumberland Friend who died in Ireland aged 48.]

1696 50 primers distributed to 4 Co Tipperary meetings.

1697 15/6 is paid for a cover & bag for Geo. Fox's Journal which is going the round of Friends

1701, 63 copies Barclays *Apology*, £7 10 0 paid for Isaac Penington's books.

While mentioning literature I should not omit to notice Gershon Boate (1648-1704),⁵ the only early

⁴ This is doubtless the 4to tract *A Warning to Innkeepers and Vintners*, 1682, (not in D.; see Smith's *Cata.* i. 681), and may be the same as Epistle No. 381—"A Way to Prevent the Indignation and Judgments of God from coming on a Kingdom, Nation, or Family; commended to the Consciences of all concerned," addressed to vintners and innkeepers (see Sessions, *Two and a Half Centuries of Temperance Work*, 1893).

⁵ Gershon Boate, primus (1648-1704), was convinced about the year 1670 and travelled in the ministry in the British Isles. "He was of quick apprehension, great abilities courage very serviceable to the country on several accounts particularly with regard to the Rapparees that infested it; was wonderfully preserved through many imminent dangers from those blood-thirsty men who lay in wait for mischief." (Rutty, *Rise and Progress*, p. 205.) His home was at Borrisoleigh, Co. Tipperary; later he removed to Mountrath. His name does not appear in E. N. Armitage's *Quaker Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1896. For his father, Gerard Boate, see *D.N.B.*

Gershon Boate, secundus (1678-), son of Gershon above-named, is mentioned in Wight and Rutty (p. 212)—in 1696, he accompanied other Friends to England in relation to the Affirmation Act. In the *Life of John Fothergill*, 1753, we read of a visit to Gershon Boate's at Dunmoor, in 1724.

Gershon Boate, tertius (1701-1773), is described by John Fothergill (*op. cit.*, p. 223) as "Gershon Boate, jun. of Mary's-town," anno 1724.

Gershon Boate, quartus, lived only a few weeks.

County Tipperary Friend poet known to me, author of *The Maiden's Best Adorning*, &c. I quote 4 lines :

Make room for Christ, let not so base a guest
As Earth, have any lodging in thy breast.
Be much at prayer, it is the begging trade
By which true Christians are the richest made.

POOR

1696 County Tipperary meeting owned Cows specially branded which were lent to poor Friends.

ADVANCED VIEWS

Minutes about a Liberal Friend are to this effect :

THOMAS TENISON.

Admitted to membership about 1783. Sent a letter to Friends dated 20.2.1787. stating :

1. As he had been a magistrate before joining Friends he wished to feel at liberty to help the community & to continue in the office & that of attorney . . . would have to administer oaths.
2. Thought it only tradition & not useful to wear his hat in meeting.
3. Thought it prevented love and friendship to disown those marrying out.
4. Thought it wrong to prevent those who had done wrong & then repented from marrying.
5. Friends read their own epistles in meeting, it would be full as decent comfortable & instructive to read the epistles of Paul &c.
6. The general disuse of the plain language to be regretted for literary & grammatical reasons, but Friends ought not to make themselves peculiar in the matter & if they do they ought to use it grammatically & not say thee for thou.

This letter was too bad to be discussed in meeting so it was considered privately, and a committee was appointed to visit the writer at his house in Tramore. He refused to see them, saying that since being at College thirty-one years ago he was not accustomed to lectures, he had given his reasons and did not chose to be a useless drone in the community. As a result he was disowned.

DISORDER IN A MEETING

At a Six Weeks Meeting, in Clonmel, 9 of 12mo., 1753: Solomon Watson, the younger, having offered at last mens meeting complaints against Joshua & William Fennell for having given a partial judgment on an arbitration between him & Joⁿ Newsom, the said complaint was read in this meeting, & contains several gross charges on said Fennells,

who positively deny the same; therefore said Solomon is sent for that this meeting may know whether he has any proof to advance besides his own bare assertions, but he was gone out of town, so that occasions this meeting to adjourn to next 5th day.

Clonmel, 13 of 12mo., 1753 :—Solomon Watson attended but refused to prove to this meeting his charges against Joshua & William Fennell.

30 of 12mo., 1753 :—The Mens meeting attended pursuant to adjournment & having considered Solomon Watsons complaint against Joshua & William Fennell & also that said Solomon did, at last adjournment, refuse to prove to this meeting (to which he complained) his charges against said two friends, on pretence he believed said meeting partial or prejudiced & not fit judges for his purpose. . . . Its clearly believed that he cannot support his s^d charges. Tis also the unanimous sense of this meeting that the s^d Joshua & W^m Fennell have not been partial or biassed in judgment or any award they have given between Solomon & John Newsom. . . . Wherefore this meeting is of opinion that the s^d Solomon Watson, junior, indulges a spirit of contention, & has slighted & reflected on s^d meeting, & treated s^d two friends (he complained of) unjustly, wherefore said meeting thinks he ought to give satisfaction for so doing; the w^h : W^m Banfield & Joseph Grubb are desired to acquaint him of.

20 of 1mo., 1754 :—Report is made that s^d f^rs delivered the mind of the meeting to S. W. and received from him an auswer not satisfactory. Solomon Watson, the Elder, is added to the Committee, who are to speak to him again.

3 of 3mo., 1754 :—Report is made that Solomon Watson, the younger, notified the Province meeting that he would complain to next National Meeting [at Dublin] & the Province meeting ordered that the proceedings be sent to Richard Allen, the writing Clerk of the Province Meeting. . . .

14 of 4mo., 1754 :—Com^t report they stop^t Solomon Watson, Jun^r, at the rise of a meeting at Clonmel & he would have nothing to do with the message from this meeting & w^{nt} off. Com^t continued. . . .

A Six Weeks mens meeting in Clonmel, 10 of 11th mo., 1754 : The paragraph relating to the appointment to speak to Solomon Watson, jun, concerning a report which came before this meeting, was unanswered at our last meeting at Cashell, viz. 29 of 9th mo. last, on acc^t of the meeting ending irregularly, occasioned by the said S. W., jun., coming there towards the latter end thereof, & with him a ruffian like man, he, the said Watson, locking the outside or yard door, & gave the key to said man, & then in the meeting house, he, said Watson drew out a large, naked, basket-hilted sword & a case of pistols, & pulled out a powder horn to prime said pistols; after which he behaved in a very rude, turbulent manner with many menaces, in order to terrify friends, saying, He had many more to assist him outside, & could get 50 more, if he had occasion of them, repeatedly telling how well he was prepared, & that he always would be so, & threatened in a very positive manner, swearing by the sacred name, he would lay the place in blood,

split friends down with said sword, cutt off heads, & with many more threats, calling friends rogues, villains, & devils; & in this manner behaved about the space of two hours, hacking the door & forms, often brandishing said sword, even at his father, threatening in a very positive manner what he would do at him if he did not keep off, & seemed greatly enraged that friends should enquire into his conduct, or send him any message, Friends all the while behaving in a quiet, peaceable manner not giving him any provocation to so behave. Wherefore, as friends cannot have any unity with suchlike behaviour, this meeting is unanimously of opinion that they can do no less than publicly testify against said actions, & him to be of us & friends, concluded now to draw up a testimony here & that the same be read in a Public Meeting on a first day in Clonmel by a friend of said place.⁶

LOSS AND LIBERALITY

In 1688-1690 when Ireland and perhaps more especially my own county, Tipperary, was ravaged by the regular and the mercenary troops and followers of James II. and to a lesser extent suffered from the presence of William III.'s partly victorious armies, Friends, in common with all classes of the community, suffered extremely in person and property. There was an exodus from the towns and cities, many found a temporary asylum in England, and in our Munster Province several Meetings ceased to exist at that time and were not resumed.

Our minutes record the great liberality of English Friends to their co-religionists after this time of distress; even from Barbados pecuniary aid was received.

To Friends in America Irish Friends sent considerable sums to relieve the distress caused by the War of Independence.

In 1798 the south-east portion of Ireland was smitten by civil war. Friends suffered considerably as regards loss of property, but the subscriptions raised in other parts of Ireland, as Cork, Clonmel and Waterford, etc., more than sufficed to recoup their losses, and a considerable sum was returned to the subscribers.

⁶ A Solomon Watson, formerly a Friend, died at his residence, near Clonmel, some years ago, & his son Colonel Solomon Watson, D.L., J.P., who was engaged in the South African War, lives near Clonmel, and occasionally preached at the Soldiers' Home, at Clonmel, which is on the premises of Friends' Meeting House there. He is of the same family as that mentioned in our records. The late Watson Grace, Sec. Friends' Foreign Mission Association, was a cousin of Colonel Watson's.

At the same time Friends were foremost in relieving the War Victims' distress after the battle of New Ross, the officers of the Coldstream Guards who were engaged in the battle liberally assisting.

In the awful famine period of 1846-1847 English Friends united with Irish Friends in the relief operations, but nothing could arrest the awful scourge of death and disease which arose from anterior economic conditions. Some Friends who were active in relieving others succumbed to Famine Fever. During the Smith-O'Brien rebellion of 1848 almost all the Protestants at Carrick-on-Suir fled from their homes. The Friends who remained were wholly unharmed.

My time has expired and I have only touched the fringe of our subject, but I must leave time for the speakers who are to follow me.

J. ERNEST GRUBB.

*Carrick-on-Suir,
Ireland.*

Professor Firth on Early Quaker Biography

SOMETIMES in the lives of the Quakers we get glimpses of great men and great events. Fox's *Journal* brings Cromwell before us; in Ellwood's *Life Milton* appears for a moment; the story of the sailor [Thomas Lurting] who served under Blake before he was converted supplies us with one of the best accounts of the battle of Santa Cruz. But in general the special merit of the lives of the Quakers is that they introduce us to a wider circle than the memoirs of courtiers and noblemen; all sorts and conditions of men appear in their pages; a picture of the middle classes and the people could be put together from them.

CHARLES HARDING FIRTH, M.A. Oxon, Regius Professor of Modern History, art. "Some Seventeenth Century Diaries," in *The Scottish Historical Review*, July, 1913.

Christianity is the sole religion of the world that is built on the principles of love.

WILLIAM PENN, *Good Advice to the Church of England*, 1687, pt. 1, p. 2.

Friends in Current Literature

THE *Saturday Westminster Gazette* of March 21 has a paragraph respecting a Friends' Meeting House at Mill Hill, Middlesex, taken from Norman G. B. James's "History of Mill Hill." This book is in D.; it received notice in THE JOURNAL, vi. 178.

Headley Brothers have published at one shilling net a new book by Stafford Allen Warner, entitled *The Growth of the Graded Sunday School*. There is an introduction by Richard Roberts, Presbyterian Minister, of Crouch Hill, London, and a frontispiece-portrait of George Hamilton Archibald.

By the kindness of the author, a copy of *A History of England*, by Allen C. Thomas, A.M., Professor of History in Haverford College, Pa., has been placed in D. It is a volume of 650 pages, published by D. C. Heath & Co., of New York, etc.

A second and enlarged edition has appeared of *The Master and the Book*, by Alfred S. Dyer, formerly of London and Bombay, now of Aldington, Kent. The contents of the book are thus described by the author: "A protest and warning addressed to members of the Society of Friends concerning the modern Quaker theology by which the Son of God is dishonoured and the Holy Scriptures robbed of their authority." A.S.D. withdrew from the Society in 1911. (7½ by 4½, pp. 72, 7d., post free from the author.)

Under the heading of "Our Portrait Gallery," *The Sphere* is presenting full-page portraits of eminent persons from photographs specially taken by Walter Benington, a London Friend.

Under the abbreviated title of *Penn's Country*, Edward Stanley Roscoe has issued, through Routledge and Sons, an enlarged and revised edition of his literary and historical studies of the districts in Buckinghamshire connected with the names of Penn, Milton, Gray, Burke, and the Disraelis. 2s. 6d. net.

A second edition has appeared of Edith J. Wilson's *Modern Outlook of Quakerism* (see THE JOURNAL, x. 293), 1½d. post free, from E. E. Taylor, Bannisdale, Malton, Yorks.

The chairman's address at the annual meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America, held at Cincinnati, O., in Twelfth Month last, was given by our friend, Prof. T. Atkinson Jenkins, of the University of Chicago, Ill. It is a reply to the statement

recently made that "the scholars of the world have often been reproached for their self-indulgence and for their lack of heroism in great crises." The title is *Scolars and Public Spirit*.

Some extracts from the Diaries of John Kelsall, taken in D. by G. Eyre Evans, of Aberystwyth, some weeks ago have been printed in *The Welshman*, April 24th. These extracts relate to the Yearly Meeting at Carmarthen in 1725.

In *Higham's Magazine*, a Business Magazine for Progressive Men, for April (vol. i., no. 2), there is a portrait of George Cadbury, and an appreciation occupying three pages. (Higham, Ltd., Imperial House, Kingsway, London, W.C.)

I have been greatly interested in reading *Selections from the Diary and Correspondence of Joseph S[cotton] Elkinton*, 1830-1905, privately printed in Philadelphia last year.¹ There is a delightful blending of grave and gay, so little found in Quaker autobiographies. J. S. E.'s religious visits were of a very varied character—Indians, Mennonites, Doukhobors, River Brethren, Negroes, Jews, prisoners, persons in authority, and many other classes.

In 1893, J. S. Elkinton, accompanied by William Evans, went south to visit the Sea Islands in South Carolina, recently devastated by a hurricane, and chapter xi. gives a lively account of their journey.

"At one stopping place, five little pickaninnies, as W. E. called them, got up on the platform of the car and seemed all ready to start up a little dance and ask for nickels. I handed W. E. three of the little books called 'The Sermon on the Mount,' and two of the 'Proverbs of Solomon,' and told him to ask them if they could read. William smiled, but started off to deliver them. He reports that one of the boys said he could read, but seeming more anxious for money than literature, got a nickel out of him."

In 1903, Zebedee Haines and our Author visited the Indian School at Tunesassa, N.Y. On 6 mo. 28, the latter writes :

"Retiring into our room after meeting, the voices of the girls in the open windows of their sitting room, close by, sounded as if they wanted to have a meeting or exercises after their own fashion. The girls seemed decidedly ahead of the boys with their singing in concert. Their voices were clear and enchanting, but there is doubt in its being in right ordering; it is not according to the teaching of the ancient type of Friends, and I am thinking what kind of answer we have to make for having a singing school. I suppose some of us will have to bear our burdens and jog on."

By kind permission of William T. Elkinton, of Philadelphia, other extracts will appear from time to time.

¹ William T. Elkinton, 121 S. Third Street, 8 by 5½, pp. 512, with good Index.

T. Edmund Harvey, M.P., has a 17-page article on John Woolman in the March number of *The Constructive Quarterly: a Journal of the Faith, Work and Thought of Christendom*. (Oxford University Press. 3s. net.)

A favourite subject for the thesis of a candidate for a degree is the social work of Friends. A recent thesis, written by Alice Heald Mendenhall, A.B., of Penn College, Ia., is entitled, "Some Social Aspects of the Society of Friends in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." Our Friend is a candidate for the M.A. degree of the University of Chicago.

Our friends of the Pemba Industrial Mission have prepared, at the hand of Emily Hutchinson, a hymn book for use at various gatherings. It is entitled *Nyimbo za Sifa na Sala*. There are 233 pieces with music, and indexes (in English) to titles and subjects. (London Office, 15, Devonshire Street, London, E.C.; printed by Burtt Brothers, of Hull.)

There is a long article on James Cowles Prichard, Ethnologist, Physician and Quaker (1786-1848), in *The British Medical Journal* for March 7.

In an article by G. K. Chesterton in *The Illustrated London News* of April 18, we read the following: "I could respect the perfect plainness of an early Quaker like Penn when he would not take his hat off in the palace because it was an idle form. I do not despise him because he came afterwards (I believe) to see that keeping your hat on is just as much of a form as taking it off, and took off his hat like other people."

Louis Thomas Jones, an ex-Principal of the Academy attached to Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, has for four years been engaged on an historical study of Quakerism in Iowa. The first result of this work was presented to the University of Kansas as a thesis for a M.A. Degree, and was entitled, "Salem, the Pioneer Quaker Community West of the Mississippi River." Later, the work was enlarged and presented to the University of Iowa as L. T. Jones's dissertation for the Doctor of Philosophy degree, and entitled *The Quakers of Iowa* (Iowa City, Ia.: State Historical Society, 9 by 6, pp. 360 and index, \$3.00). The book is divided into five parts: Historical Narrative, Iowa Quaker Orthodoxy, The Minority Bodies of Friends in Iowa, Benevolent and Educational Enterprises, Religious and Social Life of the Quakers. At the close of Part I., Dr. Jones writes:

"The history of Iowa Quakerism during the past fifty years is indeed checked. Among the older members to-day there is a widespread uncertainty as to what the future holds in store. The decay of so many of the early Quaker centers in this State; the present scattered condition of the constituent meetings; the lack of sympathy and coherence among the various sects of the Society in Iowa; and the

2 Is there any ground for Mr. Chesterton's "belief"?

general breaking down not only of denominational but even of church ties in general—all of these facts are disquieting to the Quaker mind. Nevertheless, for more than a generation there have been forces at work within the Society of Friends in Iowa tending towards the modernization of its ancient teachings and the construction of a religious organization adapted to the spirit of the times." (page 92.)

Again, we have the following summation :

"In conclusion, it may be observed that while a persistent spirit of conservatism has led the smaller body of Orthodox Friends in Iowa into a state of stagnation and apparent decline, a growing disregard for its original tenets now threatens to leave the larger Yearly Meeting little that is distinctive in character except its denominational name. Is there not somewhere between these two extremes a happy medium, which would be advantageous to both? It is possible that the rising generation in both sects, freed from old time prejudice and imbued with the broader spirit of the twentieth century, may find sufficient common ground on which to reunite. Indeed, the trend of events would seem to point in that direction." (page 183.)

The Churches and London : An Outline Survey of Religious Work in the Metropolitan Area is the title of a book compiled by H. Wilson Harris, a London Friend, and Margaret Bryant (London : *Daily News and Leader* Office, 8½ by 5½, pp. 435, 3s. 6d.). There is a full directory of places of worship in the County of London.

Concluding, for the present, the series, *Quaker Biographies*, vol. v. has appeared (Philadelphia : Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch Street, pp. 255, 75 cents). It contains brief lives of William Allen, Thomas Shillitoe, Benjamin Seeböhm, Joseph Sturge, Friends and Slavery, Christine Majolier Alsop, John M. and Mary Whitall, the Botanists Bartram and Marshall, and William Urich Ditzler. Eight out of the nine chapters are written by women. There are a score of illustrations and a Topical Index to the five volumes.

In *War and Peace : A Norman Angell Monthly*, for June, there is a short paper by John William Graham, entitled "Some Apologists for Conquest."

A new book by Luke Woodard, of Fountain City, Ind., is received. The title is *Autumn Gleanings*. It consists of some thirty short addresses, sermons and essays (7½ by 5½, pp. 263, \$1.00).

Rachel Juliet Fox, of Falmouth, has published through Kegan Paul & Co., of London, *More Rays of the Dawn, or Teachings on some Old Testament Problems* (7½ by 5, pp. xxvii. + 355, 3s. 6d. net).

In the seventh volume of *THE JOURNAL* we published some extracts from a business-book of the firm of Fox Brothers & Co., of Wellington, Somerset. These and many other interesting memoranda have been

included in the recent publication—*The Woollen Manufacture at Wellington, Somerset*, compiled by Joseph Hoyland Fox, J.P. (London: Humphreys, 10½ by 7½, pp. 121, 7s. 6d.). These are beautifully produced portraits of the Author on his eightieth birthday, of Thomas Fox (1828-1898), Dillworth Crewdson Fox (1828-1887), Charles Henry Fox (1835-1908), and Henry Fox (1856-1888); also smaller pictures of Thomas and Sarah (Smith) Fox (d. 1821 and 1823), Thomas Fox (1786-1862), Samuel Fox (1794-1874), Henry Fox (1800-1876), Charles Fox (1801-1860), Edward Fox (1789-1845), and Sylvanus Fox (1791-1851). There are frequent references to the families of Berry, Matravers and Were.

The Friends' Central Study Committee and the Friends' League for Women's Suffrage have conjointly issued an Outline Programme for the use of Circles studying "The Feminist Movement," by Mrs. Philip Snowden. Copies can be obtained for one penny each from Janet E. L. Payne, of Chesham House, Hitchin, Herts.

Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, London, E.C., have produced a beautiful engraving in colour from the original water-colour picture by J. Walter West, R.W.S., Quaker artist, entitled *The Guiding Hand*. The picture was painted in 1913, and exhibited in the Autumn Exhibition of the Royal Water Colour Society. It represents a tall and stately mother leaning over a chair on which her little daughter sits at the table, guiding the hand of her offspring as she makes her first attempt at letter-writing. In the background is a handsome fireplace, bearing a resemblance to the one still existing at Swarthmoor Hall. The price of the coloured engraving is only 10s. 6d. net, framed in rosewood for 15s., packing extra.

The sixty-seventh Annual Report of the Friends' First-day School Association (15, Devonshire Street, London, E.C.) has appeared. The frontispiece is an admirable portrait of Joseph Storrs Fry (1826-1913), honorary secretary for forty-six years, and president for a further twenty. There are also six pictures of Meeting and School premises in and around Bristol. There were 23,037 scholars on the books at the end of 1913, and 3,016 teachers; the former show a decrease of 617 compared with the end of 1912, and the latter an increase of twenty.

In *The Ormskirk Advertiser*, of March 26, there is an article on the old Burial Ground at Bickerstaffe.

Another volume of the Rowntree history has appeared—*Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, by Rufus M. Jones (London, et al.: Macmillan, 9 by 5½, pp. 362, 10s. 6d. net).

A hearty welcome to the first issue of *The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England*, edited by Alexander Jeffrey, F.E.I.S., of

Leytonstone, Essex (London: T. F. Downie, 21, Warwick Lane, E.C., 8½ by 5½, pp. 24, price 4d. to non-members). There are interesting sections: "Notes on some of the Society's Helpers," and "Notes on some of the Society's Acquisitions"; the main article, illustrated, is "Edward VI. granting a Charter to the Presbyterians," written by William Carruthers, Ph.D., F.R.S.

An editorial in *Present Day Papers*, May, 1914, entitled "Remember Lot's Wife," is well worth reading and re-reading.

"The Journal of George Fox" is thus described in *The Homiletic Review* for May, in an article headed "Classics of Christian Mystical Literature," by Prof. J. W. Buckham, D.D., of Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, Cal.:

"George Fox's *Journal*, rising like a flame from the cold and dismal piety of a formal and faithless age, has enough of mystic warmth in it still to kindle the dullest heart. Beside it should be placed that other Quaker *Journal*, equally noble and serious, but gentler and more winsome, John Woolman's *Journal*, and in company with both William Penn's *Some Fruits of Solitude*."

The *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia* (vol. v., no. 3, Haverford, Pa., Allen C. Thomas, 30 cts.), is to hand. Isaac Sharpless concludes his "David Lloyd," and Julia S. White writes on "A Church Quarrel and what resulted," which concerns, especially, Herman Husband of North Carolina and the "Regulation" movement, mid eighteenth century. There are also several articles contributed by M. Ethel Crawshaw, of Friends' Reference Library, London.

Macmillan and Company have published recently *The Life of John Edward Ellis, M.P.* (1841-1910), written by Arthur Tilney Bassett, from a MS. memoir by Joshua Rowntree (9 by 5½, pp. 300, 7s. 6d. net). In his Preface Viscount Bryce writes:

"Among various types developed by English public life there has been none more vigorous and forceful than the Puritan, and among the forms which that type has assumed, none has been more sharply outlined than the form found among members of the Society of Friends. . . . Mr. Ellis was a worthy example of the type I have sought to describe."

Another little volume in the Religion of Life Series is just out—*Gleanings from the Works of George Fox* (London: Headley, 6½ by 4½, pp. 109, 1s. net), compiled by Dorothy M. Richardson, author of "The Quakers Past and Present."

The Swarthmore Lecture, delivered during the last London Yearly Meeting by Edward Grubb, M.A., has been published by Headley Brothers, for the Woodbrooke Extension Committee, with the title *The Historic and the Inward Christ: a Study in Quaker Thought* (7½ by 5, pp. 100, 1s. net).

The annual volume of the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, just issued, contains great wealth of matters relating to these two Northern counties. The pages of special interest to Friends are those occupied by "The Note Book of William Thomson of Thornflatt, Justice of the Peace for Cumberland during the Commonwealth," by P. H. Fox M.A. Thomson (died 1670) is known to us as a persecutor of early Friends. He is referred to in "Extracts from State Papers," p. 35, where Thorneslet should be *Thorneflat*.

The first number of the fourth volume of *The South African Friend* has reached us, accompanied by a new periodical, *The South African Quarterly*, both edited by Arnold Wynne, M.A., S.A. College, Cape Town, and to be obtained from Headley Brothers, London.

(Rev.) W. J. Gomershall, of Stanley House, Belsize Park, Hampstead, has issued a little book entitled *Airton-in-Malhamdale and other Local Contributions in Prose and Verse*. Several pages are devoted to information of Friends past and present. Price twopence.

Stanley F. Allen, hon. sec. of the Sydney Council of the Australian Freedom League, has come in for considerable abuse as a result of some of his public statements. *The Bulletin*, Sydney, N.S.W., for May 7th, has a full-page cartoon of his house all open and lit up, with flag flying.—"Door open. Safe open. Daughter's bedroom open. We have always been fair to Bill Sikes and he won't go back on us now." Bill Sikes is large in the foreground with thumb pointing to the house. Wording at foot reads: "Mr. Allen is here represented as dwelling in the white house of a blameless life. The flag is intended to imply that he is inside and actively employed in living up to his principles." Our Friend may well be proud of the honour done him by the cartoonist.

Margaret E. Hirst, M.A., a Friend of Saffron Walden, has written specially for "The Nation's Library," *The Story of Trusts* (London: Collins, 6½ by 4½, pp. 264, 1s. net). There is an Introduction by the Author's brother, F. W. Hirst, Editor of "The Economist," also a portrait of the Author.

If not definitely told on the title page of *A Quaker Grandmother*, that the writer of the letters was Hannah Whitall Smith, we could never have thought that the letters here printed came from her pen. The letters are of a personal character, and were probably never intended to appear in type. The object of the book, compiled by Ray Strachey, *née* Costelloe, a grand-daughter of H. W. S., is to present her "simply in one relation of life, the relation of a grandmother to her grandchildren, during the last twenty years of her life." The picture is of a very devoted but very indulgent grandmother. In 1896 she writes of two grandchildren:

"Their one greatest enjoyment in life is having me read to them stories of adventure. For a long time fairy-stories were what they most enjoyed, but now these are second, and the wildest tales of adventure by land and sea are all they care for. Every morning I go in" and read to them.

And again :

"I heard Ray say, 'Oh, you may throw things about just as much as you please, and leave them, for grandma don't mind, and she always clears up after us.' . . . I thought there could be no finer credential for the position of grandma than this speech contained."

And this does not sound like the author of "The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life" :

"April 21st, 1876. I read (the paper) to the children every morning (at breakfast) about Bulawayo and the Matabeles and also about Egypt and the fight with the Dervishes. They are deeply interested, and this morning greatly enjoyed hearing that in a fight at the Umuza River, the whole river was stained with blood ! The blood-thirsty little wretches !"

New York and London : Fleming H. Revell, 7½ by 5, pp. 144, \$1.00 net, with several illustrations.

I cannot do more here than refer briefly to the appearance of the third volume of *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, prepared by that indefatigable worker, Professor G. Lyon Turner, M.A., late of London, now of Hawkey, Hants (London : T. F. Unwin, 9½ by 6½, pp. xv. + 944). This and the previous volumes (over 2,300 pages in all) shed a flood of light on the condition of Nonconformity in the later seventeenth century, and include many references to Quakerism. There is a review of this work in *The Friend* (Lond.), 1914, p. 522.

Haverford College, Pa., has recently issued a *Register* of the College, 1833 to 1913—a valuable list of Graduates and Students of this well-known Quaker seat of learning.

NORMAN PENNEY.

Long years ago there lived in Philadelphia three old Friend cronies, one of whom was very rich, another very inquisitive, and the third was the business manager and reputed to be the executor of the wealthy one. At last the rich brother was gathered to his fathers. The following day the curious member of the trio met the executor and said :

"Well, our old friend has left us ?"

"Yes," was the reply, "he has."

Then cautiously—"Canst thou tell me how much he left ?"

"Yes, I can tell thee," and here his informant dropped his voice to a confidential pitch, "he left everything."

WILLIAM C. ALLEN in *The Westonian*, 11 mo., 1913.

The Cambridge "Journal of George Fox"

Continued from p. 21

39.—Vol. II. p. 455.—In connection with the disputes between Baptists and Friends at the Barbican and Wheler Street, London, in 1674, a ballad appeared with the title *The Quakers Ballad : or, an Hymn of Triumph and Exultation for their Victories ; at the two late great Disputes by them held with the Baptists . . . To an excellent new Tune called "The Zealous Atheist."* A copy of this ballad in the possession of the late J. Eliot Hodgkin, F.S.A., is thus described in his *Rariora*, iii. broadsides, p. 60 : " a poetical black-letter Broadside, with extremely quaint illustrations."

40.—Vol. I. p. 463.—There is reference here to a manuscript prepared by William Hewitson, of Bury, from which extracts were incorporated in the Note to Justice Porter.

We think our readers will be interested in the whole of Mr. Hewitson's paper on Justice Porter (whose name occurs eighteen times in the *Camb. Jnl.*), and on Hornby Castle. It should be read in connection with Fox's references to the man and the place.

HENRY PORTER (1613-1666) was the son of James Porter, gentleman, of Lancaster, and grandson of the Rev. Henry Porter, vicar of Lancaster from January, 1582, until his death, 22nd January, 1608. James Porter owned various properties in the town of Lancaster and in Middleton-in-Lonsdale. He died 1st February, 1614/15, his son and heir, Henry, being then only ten months old.

The last-named Henry grew up to be a considerable personage in his native town. He was elected Mayor of Lancaster in 1659, and again in 1661. In 1660 he was appointed Constable of Lancaster Castle. He was also elected Member of Parliament for the borough, and sat as such for a few years, from 1654. He died in November, 1666, and was buried on the 14th of that month at Lancaster Parish Church. His father's brother, the Rev. Talbot Porter, was vicar of Bolton-le-Sands, near Lancaster, from 1613 until his death in 1618.

HORNBY CASTLE, in Lunesdale, about nine miles north-east of Lancaster. Beautifully situated, and figures in one of Turner's landscapes. Sometime the property and the home of Sir Edward Stanley, of Flodden fame, who led his " Lancashire lads " from their mustering point near the Castle to the northern field, where his share in the victory won for him the title of Lord Monteagle. King James I. spent a night at Hornby Castle (11th August, 1617), when on his " progress " from Scotland. This Castle was garrisoned by the Royalists when the Civil War broke out. The third and last Lord Monteagle in the male line from the Stanleys

died in 1581, and the Hornby Castle estates were carried by his daughter in marriage to Edward Parker, Lord Morley. In June, 1643, the Parliament troops stormed and captured the Castle, and at the close of the war the estates, then belonging to Henry, Lord Morley and Monteaule, grandson of Edward, Lord Morley, were forfeited.

George Fox's reference to "Justice" Porter and Hornby Castle (the question "Whose great buck's horns those were, that were in his house [1660]; and where he had both them and the wainscot that he ceiled his house withal; had he them not from Hornby Castle?") no doubt has its explanation in these facts:—During some years after the war, including 1651-52-53, Henry Porter was one of the lessees (the others were Thomas Carus and Reinold Remmington) of the manors of Hornby and Tatham (Tatham is adjacent to Hornby), "then lately belonging to the Lord Morley, and sequestered for his delinquency." It is not improbable that some "spoils of war" were taken from the Castle, subsequent to the House of Commons ordering, on 8th July, 1643, that "the Castle of Hornby be forthwith so defaced or demolished that the enemy may be prevented from making any further use thereof to the annoyance of the inhabitants." The Deputy Lieutenants (and Henry Porter was probably of the number) were directed to carry out this order. To what extent the order of Parliament was carried out is not known. Some parts of the Castle, however, were left standing. Two round towers—remains of the fortifications—survived until about a century ago, and the Castle hill is still crowned by the great keep, ninety feet high, which Sir Edward Stanley built and in which his family resided.

In 1645 Henry Porter is described as "Captain" (for the Parliament). It appears to have been of him that William Blundell, "The Cavalier," of Crosby Hall, Lancashire (whose grandsire was among the Roman Catholics who suffered imprisonment in Lancaster Castle), wrote to his friend Lawrence Ireland, S.J., "Major Porter, of Lancaster, is supposed to have died of grief, having lost his children in the great plague of London, and being bound for much of their debts."

41.—Vol. II. p. 284.—In connection with the Worcester imprisonment of Fox and Lower, a special source of information is thus noted: "as by my letters to M: ff: farther Appeareth as followeth." A note to this states: "There are not now any letters from Fox to his wife, at the time of the Worcester imprisonment, among the MSS. forming the *Journal*." Quite recently four of these missing letters have come to our knowledge, for which see pp. 97-103 of this number of THE JOURNAL.

42.—Vol. II. 169.—"This folowinge letter" is mentioned, but no letter relating to this period is now to be found among the *Journal* MSS. A letter from John Stubbs to Margaret Fox, dated from Enfield, 25 viii. 1670, has recently come to D. on loan, among the Abraham MSS., and proves to be the missing letter. It will appear shortly in THE JOURNAL.

43.—Vol. II. p. 452.—For Edward Bourne read Edward Brookes. See p. 101 of this issue of THE JOURNAL.

The Indian's Search for the White Man's Bible

From the *Diary and Correspondence of Joseph S. Elkinton*, 1913,
pp. 355-357.

[1896.] Tenth month 10. Called on a man who had made considerable research in Indian history, and he told me of an incident of a tribe of Indians in the west, who, hearing that the white men, east, had a great book that told of the works of the Great Spirit, and the way to be happy with Him after leaving this world, they deputed four of their old men to go east and get that book. They proceeded as far as St. Louis and asked for the book, as they were instructed to get it. They applied to some of the officials who, being Roman Catholics, put them off. They waited a considerable time and two of their number died and were buried. The commander of the fort, or chief officer of the place, made them some presents, and when they were about to send the two remaining ones of the deputation off to the home of their tribe, one of them let it be known that he was not quite prepared to go until he should be allowed to speak. The following is the address on behalf of the Flat Head Indians to General Clark at St. Louis, Mo. :

"I came to you over a trail of many moons from the Setting Sun. You were the friend of my fathers who have all gone the long way. I came with one eye partly opened for more light for my people who sit in darkness. I go back with both eyes closed ; how can I go back blind to my people ? I made my way to you with strong arms through many enemies and strange lands, that I might carry back much to them. I go back with both arms broken and empty. The two fathers who came with us, the braves of many winters and wars, we leave asleep here by your great water and wigwam. My people sent to get the white man's Book of Heaven. You took me where you allow your women to dance, as we do not ours, and the Book was not there. You took me where they worship the Great Spirit with candles and the Book was not there. You showed me the images of good spirits and pictures of the good land beyond, but the Book was not among them to tell the way. I am going back the long sad trail to my people in the dark land. You make my feet heavy with the burden of gifts, and my moccasins will grow old in carrying them, but the Book is not among them. When I will tell my people after one more snow in the big council that I did not bring the Book, no word will be spoken by our old men, nor by our young braves. One by one they will rise up and go out in silence. My people will die in darkness, and they will go in the long path to the other hunting grounds. No white man will go with them and no white man's Book will make the way plain. I have no more words."

The government clerk who had wrote down this speech was met some time afterwards by a man who had heard the story, but said he did not believe it, as he had traveled some distance in company with the two surviving Indians referred to, and they did not say anything about it. The government clerk said it was true, and he had the record with him, which he drew out of his pocket. This so affected the man that was inclined to doubt it that he said it ought to be given to the world, and the account of it reaching Massachusetts it is said was the occasion of missionaries being sent into the north west.

Elizabeth Webb

THE contradictory statements respecting the name of the husband of Elizabeth Webb and several events of her life, which appeared in THE JOURNAL, x. 123, have brought the following from one of America's foremost genealogists, Gilbert Cope, of West Chester, Pa.

Richard Webb and family arrived in Pennsylvania in the year 1700, from the city of Gloucester, England, bringing a certificate from Friends of the Quarterly Meeting held at Nailsworth for the county of Gloucester, 6 Mo. 27, 1700. At this same meeting John Webb, of the city of Gloucester, received a similar certificate; as did also John Lea and wife Hannah, formerly wife of Joseph Webb, of the city of Gloucester. John and Joseph were doubtless brothers to Richard Webb, beside which two unmarried sisters, Mary and Rachel, came then or subsequently to Pennsylvania.

The above certificates were presented to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, from the records of which it appears that Elizabeth Webb, wife of Richard, had come over previously on a religious visit, bringing a certificate from the Quarterly Meeting held at Tetbury in the county of Gloucester, 6 Mo. (Aug.) 31, 1697.

By deed of April 25, 1702, John Hoskins, sheriff of Chester County, conveyed to Richard Webb a tract of 415 acres of land in Birmingham Township, which had been surveyed to one Daniel Smith of Marlborough, in Wiltshire, England, September 24, 1688, in part of a purchase of 2,000 acres. A patent was granted to Richard Webb for the 415 acres, dated September 11, 1702, and he may have settled thereon the same year. This was within the limits of Concord Monthly Meeting, from the minutes of which the following extracts are taken:

3 Mo. 8, 1704: "Elizabeth Webb requested of this meeting to give her a few Lines of her conversation since shce have been Amongst us, for the seventh dayes meeting of ministring friends att Philadelphia, and according to her Request it was Granted."

8 Mo. 9, 1704: "John Bennett and Elizabeth Webb in the behalf of friends, Inhabitants of the uper part of burmingham and brandiwine

creek with the advice of the preparative meeting of Concord did Request of this meeting that they might have a meeting att John Bennets house this winter time because of their farr Living from Concord Meeting," which was granted.

6 Mo. 14, 1710: "Richard Webb produced a Certificate for himsele & family from the meeting at Philad^aia, held the 12th day of the 4th mo. 1710."

"This meeting receiving recommendations of Elizabeth Webb from Philadelphia Meeting in the year 1704, her Husband & Children not being mentioned although desired by them; the s'd Richard & his wife requested this meeting that it might not yet be recorded at present, giving us some Expectation of obtaining a Joynt Certificate from them: in Respect to their Request it was forborn until this meeting whereunto the s'd Richard Webb produced a Joynt Certificate from Philad^aia Meeting which this meeting orders to be Recorded." (Record lost if made.)

It appears by the records of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting that Elizabeth Webb received a certificate from the Quarterly Meeting there, 3 Mo. 6, 1704, in order to pay a religious visit to Virginia, Carolina, &c., and there are essays of certificates for the family to Concord, dated 12 Mo. 24, 1709-10, and 1 Mo. 31, 1710. Elizabeth Webb received a certificate from Concord Monthly Meeting, 3 Mo. 8, 1710, in order to "visit friends in Ould England;" and having lately returned from Great Britain she produced several certificates from thence, 8 Mo. 13, 1712. Again, on 3 Mo. 4, 1724, she obtained a certificate to visit Friends in New England. After her husband's death she conveyed, by deed of 10 Mo. 27, 1721, one acre of land to certain trustees, upon which Birmingham Meeting House had probably then been built. Her death occurred 9 Mo. 6, 1726, aged about sixty-three years, though another account says she died in 1727.

Richard Webb was elected to the Provincial Assembly, from Chester County, in the year 1705.

He was also commissioned a Justice of the Peace and of the Common Pleas, November 24, 1711, May 13, 1713, June 11, 1715, August 26, 1717, and November 24, 1718.

The will of Richard Webb of Birmingham, yeoman, is dated March 2, 1719, and was probated on the 14th of the same month. He devised all his estate, real and personal, to his wife, excepting £1 to each of his children, William, Mary, wife of George Brown, Sarah, wife of William Dilworth, Esther, wife of Jacob Bennett, Joseph, Benjamin, Daniel, John and James.

John Webb died in Philadelphia about the year 1711, leaving a widow, Ann, who subsequently became the wife of Nicholas Pyle, and an only child, Susanna, wife of William Monington. He appears to have been in pretty good circumstances, and by his will gave £20 to each of his brothers and sisters, Richard Webb, Mary Webb, Sarah, wife of Nathaniel Perrin, Rachel Webb, and Daniel Webb—the last being in Great Britain. He also gave his wearing apparel to his kinsman, Joseph Webb, son of Hannah Lea, of Chester County.

Quakers and Recusants

ATTENTION has been drawn by E. A. Fry, of 227, Strand, London, W.C., to an important MSS. in the Bodleian Library, giving a list of Friends convicted as Popish Recusants. This MS. has been inspected by William C. Braithwaite and Charles R. Simpson, and the latter has sent us some notes on this valuable document:

In Madan's *Summary Catalogue* it is thus described:—

"In English, on paper, written about A.D. 1660-70,² a roll 5 ft. 6 in. by 18½ in., in three pieces, in a cloth box 19½ by 2½, 'an abstract of the Names of the people called Quakers, lately convicted as Popish Recusants upon the Statutes made in the Reign of the late Queen Elizabeth . . . taken out of the Exchequer Rolls and accounts sent out of the Countrey . . .'; a list of over 500 names, largely from Westmorland, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Lancashire. The date appears to be about 1660-1700.² Affixed is 'The Case and Request of the People called Quakers.' A copy of a petition to the King and Privy Council signed by Wm. Penn and seven more. About 1665,² on two leaves.

"Found in the Gough Room in 1889, and then referenced."

An approximate calculation yields the following:—

Westmorland	200	Hunts	36
Cambridgeshire	120	Norfolk	150
Lancashire	92	Kent	2
Sussex	2	Surrey	4
Bucks	16	Wiltshire	15
Gloucestershire	21	Herefordshire	22
Essex	48	Suffolk	7
Dorsetshire	34	Hants	6
Cumberland	9	Cheshire	24

Total 808.

The following entries under Westmorland are typical:—

"In Preston Patrick parish of Burton

Arthur Burrow Webster.

Anne Thompson Spinster.

Wm. Cartnell Husbandman.

John Blackburne Webster.

Oliver Leighton Carpenter."

The MS. is in an excellent state of preservation, and it would seem from the form of it to be a contemporary copy of the one submitted to Privy Council.

¹ Pressmark: "MSS. Eng. misc. C.2 (R.) and C.1 (R)."

² W. C. Braithwaite suggests 1669.

The petition mentioned by Mr. Madan is attached. It is as follows :

To the King and his Privie Council.

The Case and Request of the People called Quakers.

Whereas we the peaceable people called Quakers, after diverse tedious and hard imprisonments even to death of many, and that on several Statutes and the great havock and spoile made upon our goods and estates in this Kingdom upon the late Act against Conventicles, only for our meeting together to worshipp God, which hath alwaies been after a Sober and strict manner, are now further daily exposed to utter ruin in our estates, being persecuted and convicted as Popish Recusants ; and writts issued out to seize upon two thirds of our real estates . . . that we together with our Children and families may enjoy our Just rights and Liberties in peaceable exercise of our tender consciences towards God, that we may live a pious Industrious, and peaceable life under the King and his government to whom with Christian minds we sincerely wish all true and lasting happiness.

Signed on Behalf of our

Suffering Friends by us—

WILLIAM PENN.

WILLIAM MEAD.

FRANCIS MOORE.

WILLIAM SHEWEN.

JOHN OSGOOD.

WILLIAM WELCH.

SAMUEL NEWTON.

STEPHEN CRISP.

Hingston and Prideaux,¹ Bankers, Plymouth

IN a privately printed memoir of Frederick Prideaux (1817-1891), barrister and ex-Quaker, of Co. Devon, written by his widow in 1891, we read :

"I may mention his vivid recollection of a run upon the Bank in 1826, when he was nine years old. Attracted by the crowd and aware in some dim childish fashion of trouble in the air, he crept into the Bank to his father's side, and watched Mr. Browne, the cashier, slowly cashing the cheques that were thrust forward in sheaves to him. Child though he was, he was deeply impressed by his father's quiet dignity and self-possession. He often reproduced the scene to me and the phrases he heard him use—'Each in his turn, good people.'—'Quietly, quietly, you shall all have your money.'—'Patiently, my friends, all in good time.' Meanwhile a four-horse express was galloping to Exeter for bullion, returning in time."

¹ Walter Prideaux married Sarah, daughter of Joseph and Sarah (Ball) Hingston, of Kingsbridge. He died of apoplexy while in meeting, 1832 (*Annual Monitor*).

“Quakers and Cock Robins”

THIS is the title of a pamphlet adverse to Quakerism, the complete reading of which title is *Quakers and Cock Robins; or Hypocrisy Unmasked* to which is added a Curious Dialogue between Mr. Noodle and Mr. Downright, picked up accidentally between the Pig's Foot and Pie Crust, in Shoe Lane, and Westminster Abbey; supposed to have dropped from the Pocket of Stephen Bardolph North, Esq., or his Friend, Mr. Francis Lathergills. By Lieut.-Colonel Samuel Dales, F.S.A. London: Priestly, 1828. The pamphlet deals in very ill-chosen language with such subjects as Baptism, the Supper, War, Tithes, Oaths. The style of the writer may be judged by the following extracts from his letter to Maj.-Gen. Molyneux, recently added to D.:

Wilton Place, Gravesend,
December 3rd, 1828.

My dear General,

“ . . . If you have not changed in manner, and think it better to laugh than to be broiled on Cobbetts Gridiron; the probability is that you will not think Eighteen Pence entirely thrown away on my brace of birds: as you will perceive I intend to make Game of those unbuttoned reptiles the quakers. I know the Saints are not now to be attacked with impunity, and those who venture in a stormy region must expect the beggarly elements to blast them: but I will always call a Horse a Horse: and so far as my abilities extend, I will never shrink from supporting the Constitution, as by law established, and I will expose Hypocrisy and humbug; and *acting* religion whenever I can.

Unobtrusive piety answers not the end of the Saints: the females must subscribe to abolish the slave trade; and visit the Moll Flanaghans in Newgate: I wish they had other fish to Fry. . . .

I publish neither for profit nor fame but with an honest intention of exposing the rankest humbug and hypocrisy that has been suffered to exist for nearly 200 years.

“A Loving & Obedient Wife”

IN the entry at Somerset House of the marriage of Robert Wraight “of y^e parrish of Woodensborow in y^e County of Kent, Husbandman, and Anna Allay . . . of Brakesbourne in y^e said County, Spinstresse, . . . 1689, . . . in y^e publique meeting-place in y^e Citty of Canterbury,” the bride promises “by Gods Assistance to be a loving & obedient Wife.”

The Ashbridge Family of America

READERS of THE JOURNAL and other students of Quaker literature will be well acquainted with the name and some of the life history of Elizabeth Ashbridge (1713-1755),¹ but little has hitherto become known of the family into which Elizabeth Sullivan (*née* Sampson) married in 1746.

Wellington T. Ashbridge, late of Kelowna, B.C., and now of Toronto, Canada, compiled in 1912 *The Ashbridge Book*, a fine quarto volume of xiv. + 182 pp. and various illustrations, and he has recently presented a copy of his work to D.

The immigrant ancestor was George Ashbridge (d. 1748), who landed in Philadelphia in 1698. It is not known whether he was a Friend at this date, but later he is shown as actively interested in Quakerism. In *Clovercroft Chronicles*, by Mary Rhoads Haines, 1893, we read :

"It is said that on landing at Philadelphia, George Ashbridge had with him a Bible, an axe, and an English coin of some value. The coin he gave to one who needed it more than himself, the axe was no doubt kept for use, and the Bible is probably still in possession of one of his descendants."

In 1701, G. Ashbridge married Mary Malin, both living in Chester (afterwards Delaware) County, Pa. Mary died in 1728, and in the following year George married Margaret (Jones) Paschall. The sixth child of the first marriage was Aaron, b. 1712, d. 1776. He married firstly Sarah Dawes, secondly Elizabeth Sullivan, and thirdly Mary Tomlinson. Aaron was a prominent man in local affairs, acting as a Justice of the Peace. He was also an Overseer of Goshen Meeting; in 1773, however, Goshen records state : "Aaron Ashbridge of Goshen Meeting complained of for drinking to excess," and in 1775 further complaint was made of his drinking "so as to be disguised therewith on a public road." Later in the same year Aaron was disowned, "a serviseable member for many years past," and yet in his will, dated after his dismissal from the Society, he left three hundred pounds for setting up and supporting a school for Friends' children in Pennsylvania.

Various disownments of other members of the family are recorded in this book, but there are still descendants of the family in the Society. The book also contains some "sketches of collateral lines—Davies, Hoopes, Sharpless, Yarnall, Thomas, Trimble, James, Wilcot, Mercer, Bennett, Heron, Hill, Rooney, Bright, Fox, Davis, Garratt, Massey, Maris, Rhoads, Downing, Smedley, and others.

Gilbert Cope aided the Compiler in his work.

¹ THE JOURNAL, i., ii., vii., x.; *Some Account*, various edd., esp. *Quaker Grey*, by Albert C. Curtis, 1904; *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 31 (1858), p. 212; *Evans's Friends' Library*, iv.; MSS. in D.

Robert Watson to James III.

IN the "Calendar of Stuart Papers belonging to H.M. the King," iv. 562 (Hist. MSS. Com.), there is a letter editorially described as "A letter of Robert Watson,¹ a Quaker, to James III."² Enquiries as to the reliability of the endorsement have been made at the Public Record Office, and also at Windsor Castle. The King's Librarian, the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, M.V.O., writes :

"The letter of Robert Watson has no such heading or endorsement as that given in the Calendar ; but, besides the letter, there is a petition in the same hand, signed Robert Watson ; and this petition is endorsed in another, contemporary, hand, 'Quaker's petition to Jas. R.P.'"

A letter of Robert Watson, a Quaker, to James III. [1716 ?]

I am come in some misery & great difficulty to see thee here. I was forced to leave my family where I resided as a feuar to the Earl Marischal, where I kept a public house for several years, being brought low by losing two ships by the French during thy sister's war with them. Yet I was living very happy with my wife and six children till last winter we were made very uneasy by the Dutch and Swiss, who made themselves masters of our houses so long as we had ought within doors, my house being on the shore head where George's men kept guard in it and do so, for ought I know, to this day, so I could not go back to see my family since I was forced to go to England where I lurked three months, where I was curious to know thy friends by thy foes, and I think I always found four friends to one enemy. My last misfortune in England was like to be worse than my first, I being taken by a party of George's men and kept in prison 11 days at Rochester, where I was almost starved with hunger and cold, yet, two nights before I was to be sent to London, I got happily away and came to Calais and thence to Paris through an unknown tongue. Then I, wandering as a pilgrim, resolved to come and see thee. As I always said, although thou differ a little from the Church of England in thy worship of God, it is very hard that a king cannot have the freedom which the meanest subject would wish to have. It shall be sore against my will to be chargeable to thee, though my sore travel has made me very low and not very well at present, yet it will not go out of my heart that the Lord of heaven and earth has a way laid out to bring thee to thine own yet unknown to man, and that I will see thee established in the throne of thy ancestors.

¹ The name has not been found among Scottish records in D.

² James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766), the "Old Pretender," son of James II. and Mary of Modena.

Editor's Note

The next number of THE JOURNAL will be enlarged in order to take in numerous letters from the Abraham Collection of early Quaker MSS., the printing of which and other valuable matter having been made possible by a grant made for the purpose by the Trustees of the London Friends' Fund (George Stacey Gibson's Bequest).

Quaker Anecdotes

From a MS. collection in the possession of Thomas Henry Webb, of Dublin.

Samuel Grubb came to ask for Margaret Shackleton. Her father, Richard Shackleton, and his wife Elizabeth were considering his proposal. Elizabeth Shackleton objected on the ground that he had buttons¹ on the back of his coat, Richard Shackleton observed: "If he's right to a button, my dear, he will do."

When umbrellas first came into use they were considered as an indication that those who carried them were fashionable people. Hence an advice which was issued by the London Yearly Meeting against "the wearing of those new fashioned things called 'umbrellas.'"

Benjamin Clark Fisher, however, was of opinion that umbrellas were of use, and was so anxious to possess one that he ordered one specially from London. With a Friend who had done the same he went down the river Shannon in a boat to meet the vessel that was bringing them.

A servant girl in Ballytore, who had lived with families of different religious denominations, remarked on the different ways in which the pain of domestic bereavement affected people, observing: "The Catholics screeched it off; the Protestants dressed it off; but the Quakers bore it."

Joshua Jacob, the White Quaker, during the earlier portion of his life had a grocer's shop in Dublin and acquired a reputation for selling very good tea. A passer-by, observing a crowd about the shop, enquired what was the matter. He was told: "It's the Quaker's tay: it'd crack an iron pot."

It is stated that Archbishop Whately purchased some tea at Joshua's counter and asked to have the parcel sent to "The Archbishop of Dublin, The Palace, Stephen's Green." Joshua observed rather sharply: "None of thee nonsense here, Is thee name James or Robert?"

¹ Buttons were originally put on the back of a gentleman's coat for the purpose of keeping the sword belt in its place. It was considered a mark of plainness not to have such buttons.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- D.=The Reference Library of London Y.M., at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.
Camb. Jnl.=The Journal of George Fox, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.
H.S.P.=The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, located at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
F.Q.E.=Friends' Quarterly Examiner.

ARISE EVANS AND FRIENDS' LITERATURE.—On page 72 of the last issue of THE JOURNAL appears a notice of a book by Arise Evans, *Voice from Heaven*, 1653. John E. Southall, of Newport, Mon., writes:

"A book of the above writer is named along with others in a way that may give the impression he was a Friend. This was not so. The author was of Welsh birth, from Merionethshire, an ardent Royalist and also an Astrologer. He settled in London, and became a necromancer and an adept in the black art, which he learnt, so says Pennant, from William Lilly himself.

"His proper name was John Evans. See Rowland's *Cambrian Bibliography*, sub ann. 1652, no. 4."

[In the sale catalogue of Furl's library, this book appears between Katherine Evans and George Fox (as given on page 72) under the heading "Theologi vulgò dicti Quakeriani, in Octavo & minori Formâ, Anglici." Ed.]

THE REPLANTING OF PLACENAMES (x. 108). A further example of this is given in Jones's *Quakers of Iowa*, 1914, quoting Newhall's *Sketches of Iowa*: "It is somewhat remarkable that the father of the present Aaron Street emigrated from Salem, N.J., to Salem, O.; from Ohio, father and son came and built up Salem, Ind.;

from Salem, Ind., the subject of this article came and built up Salem, Ia."

A LIGHT IN THE WINDOW.—In connection with Dr. Louis T. Jones's narrative of migration westward in North America, he cites the following:

"Rachel Kellum, an aged resident of Salem (now deceased), some years ago related to the writer that in the early days her father kept a candle burning at night in his window looking to the eastward, to guide incoming travelers through the darkness to his door. To make the candles burn slowly a thin coating of salt was sprinkled around the wick, and one candle would usually burn through most of the night." (*The Quakers of Iowa*, 1914, p. 303.)

KEITH ITEM SOLD.—At a recent sale at Sotheby's of portions of the Huth Collection, a copy of George Keith's *Plea of the Innocent against the False Judgment of the Guilty*, 1692, presumably the Colonial edition, was disposed of for £88. A copy of this is in D.

THE BAILY GENEALOGY.—A new volume of family history has, by the kindness of Joshua L. Baily, of Philadelphia, Pa., been added to the rich stores of such

literature in D.¹ The full title is: *Genealogy of the Baily Family of Bromham, Wiltshire, England, and more particularly of the Descendants of Joel Baily, who came from Bromham about 1682, and settled in Chester County, Pa.* Compiled by Gilbert Cope, Lancaster, Pa., 1912, 10½ by 7½, pp. 672, frequent portraits, 300 printed.

This volume contains the names of 12,092 descendants of Joel and Ann Baily, who married in 1687. "It is a matter of easy computation that the membership of the Baily family dating from the year 1687, has embraced nearly if not fully twenty thousand individuals." Among other surnames which appear frequently are: Baker, Cloud, Marshall, Martin, Taylor, Woodward.

WILLIAM STOUT, OF LANCASTER (x. 198).—Chetham Library, Manchester. Raines MSS. xi. 318. Heading to page:

"Extracts from a small 4to vol. in MS. written by William Stout, of Lancaster, a Quaker, in the form of a Journal, wherein are many observations of a Public as well as Private nature. The man had little education, but many of his remarks prove him to have been a person of research and of some talent. I am indebted for this book to Mrs. Butler, widow of the Rev. Mr. Butler, of Kirkland, in this county, 1843. F. R. RAINES."

This abstract covers about forty pages of closely written foolscap paper. A note is added at the end: "Mr. Harland of Manchester

has pub^d 8vo 1851 this autobiography but not from the same MS. vol. which I had in my possession in 1843."—WILLIAM A. CAFFELL.

In reply to an enquiry, Charles W. Sutton, M.A., Public Reference Library, Manchester, writes:

"I had not heard of another autobiography of William Stout. We must take Canon Raines' word that the MS. he saw in 1843 is not the same as that from which Harland's book was made. He does not say that it differs. The MS. we have belonged to Harland and he gave it to us after he published his transcript in 1851. The Chetham Library does not appear to possess any *original* MS. by Stout, only Raines' extracts."

HATS AND HAT-HONOR (xi. 46).

—John Pim, of Belfast, writes:

"I remember very well seeing in the house of my grandmother, Elizabeth Clibborn, Anner Mills, Clonmel, a row of pegs on the wall of the dining-room for hats taken off after their wearers entered the room, but before they sat down to meals. My mother told me she recollected seeing a ministering Friend from England or the United States, who went into the drawing-room with hat on and soon took it off; but when any one else entered the room, he put it on and wore it for a few minutes."

A NEW WORK ON QUAKERISM.

—By arrangement with the Cambridge University Press, per A. R. Waller, its Secretary, our Friend, John William Graham, has agreed to write a portraiture of Quakerism—"a presentment of its ideas, not a history"—to be ready about the end of the year.

¹ A copy has also been presented to the Bevan-Naish Library, in Birmingham.

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FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Income and Expenditure Account for Year ending 31st of Twelfth Month, 1913

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance in hand, 1.1. 1913	.. 91 4 0	Cost of Printing <i>Journal</i> , vol. x. ..	.. 140 10 0
Annual Subscriptions	.. 95 2 0	Postage and Advertising ..	.. 13 1 3
Sundry Sales	.. 6 5 10	Stationery and Binding ..	.. 4 4 6
Contributions to Supplement II "State Papers"	.. 37 4 2	Sundries and Insurance ..	.. 2 13 5
Contributions towards publication of "Swarthmoor Account Book"	.. 46 8 6	Cost of Printing Supplement II "State Papers" ..	.. 37 19 3
Interest on Deposit	.. 2 1 8	Postage for Supplement II ..	.. 4 5 0
		On Account of "Swarthmoor Account Book" ..	.. 13 7 3
		Balance in hand ..	.. 62 5 6
	<u>£278 6 2</u>		<u>£278 6 2</u>

Signed, GEORGE BENINGTON,
Treasurer.

THE JOURNAL

Synopsis

We hope that our readers will not overlook the subjects, which, in great variety, are embedded in the following letters. Here are to be found George Fox's own record of the search made for him "in boxes & tronkes" at Swarthmoor (p. 148), also a rather sharp letter of his to his wife (p. 157); and references to the carriage of malt to the market at Lancaster, and the return with a load of sugar (p. 159); the nursing and care of children (pp. 167-170); the financial transactions of that keen young woman, Sarah Fell, afterwards Meade (pp. 165, 170, 171); troubles caused by an over-sensitive conscience (pp. 177-180); the relations of mistress and maid (p. 183).

Thrifty modern housewives will be shocked at the holocaust of eggs required in the manufacture of various puddings a century and a half ago (p. 187).

Among the puzzles revealed in these pages is the statement made by John Stubbs, before he ended his letter, that he was "Constrained to Conclude with a postscript" (p. 154)!

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Abraham Manuscripts

At the sale of Swarthmoor Hall in 1759, the large collection of manuscripts preserved there was dispersed. A portion thereof has been handed down in the Abraham branch of the Fell family and is now in the possession of Emma Clarke Abraham, of Liverpool. To this portion have recently been added a small collection of fourteen, till 1912 belonging to the late Abraham Shackleton, and three letters (II., VII., VIII.) once the property of Anthony W. Wilson, now of E. Mitford Abraham. The present owner has had the Abraham (and Shackleton) MSS. inlaid and bound in one volume, and this volume is now on loan at Devonshire House. By the kindness of Miss Abraham, we are able to give a list of the contents of this volume, with transcriptions of those manuscripts not already in print.

For references to the Swarthmore MSS. see Camb. *Jnl.* i. 393, ii. 372.

I

MARGARET FELL TO THOMAS FELL, 1652/3

This letter is printed in Maria Webb's *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, 1865, p. 44, and in Helen G. Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, 1913, p. 21. Portions of the letter appear in facsimile in the former book. The whole letter has been photographed, print in D. The date of writing is 18 February.

THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Vol. i. 303. ii. 372.

MARGARET FELL TO THOMAS FELL, 1652/3

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The Judge was probably in London. His wife writes a letter full of wifely solicitude, doubtless increased in intensity owing to her recent spiritual enlightenment. She also urges her husband to arrange for the printing of some papers regarding the Truth.

The letter occupies a full folio page, now much worn at the edges. It has played a considerable part in the determination of the handwriting of Margaret Fell. The general style of the writing differs from almost all later letters purporting to have been written by her.

There is an endorsement by George Fox: "m : f to thomas fell her husband."

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

II

WILLIAM DEWSBURY TO MARGARET FELL, 1655

This letter, printed in *THE JOURNAL*, viii., is one of a series written by William Dewsbury, during an imprisonment of about fifteen months, ending in January, 1655/6. Other letters of the series are to be found in Gibson MSS. in D.; Swarth. MSS. in D.; Smith's *Life of William Dewsbury*. M. Fell's reply, dated Swarthmore, 14 vi mo, is among York MSS. (Dewsbury correspondence, fol. 14).

III

JOHN STUBBS TO MARGARET FELL, 1657

This letter is printed in *Fells*, p. 116.¹ The writing is small and well formed. It is doubtless holograph, though not in the style of Stubbs's later hand. The sheet is worn at the creases and the ink has faded. Portions of the sealing-wax still adhere. Fox's endorsement reads: "j stubs to m ff 1657," and elsewhere occur the words: "9th This is Copied over."

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

¹ In the American edition, 1896, p. 124, the date is given incorrectly as "4th day of the 7th Mo. 1657."

IV

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO MARGARET FELL, 1660

This letter is printed in *Fells*, p. 163, but omitting the following postscript :

This days post was gone out longe before our buisnes was done for it was ye 6 : hower at night before wee had done with them : & wee stay in prison this night. & this is like to Come by ye 6 days post.

Walter Mires remembers his deare love to thee.

The letter describes efforts made, with the assistance of Colonel West, to obtain G. Fox's release from Lancaster Castle.

It is endorsed by Fox : " a Count of gff in presen by r h 1660 at lankster 21 day 6 month Consaring the Sreave [sheriff]"

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

V

RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE TO MARGARET FELL, 1660

This letter appears in *Fells*, p. 165, but with omission of place and date of writing—the original gives : " Halton : 16 day 7 month." The name printed as M. *Gonders* should be M : *Sanders*—Mary Saunders, " a waiting Gentlewoman in Cromwell's family " (see *Camb. Jnl.*).

It refers to the same events as No. IV.

The writing occupies about half a folio sheet, which has been folded and sealed—the black seal with heraldic device still adhering. The address is :

For the hands off
Gerard Robarts at the
flowerdeluce in
Thomas Apostles
in

London

ffor m: ff:

G. Fox has endorsed the sheet :

r hop atho

rn to mf

1660 read over

16 day 7 month

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

VI

THOMAS SALTHOUSE TO LEONARD FELL, 1662

This letter appeared in *THE JOURNAL*, vii. It is dated: "bristoll the 26 day 11 month 1662," and occupies one side of a large sheet.

VII

GEORGE FOX TO GILBERT LATEY, 1663

This holograph epistle appears in *Fells*, p. 207, without opening sentence and much smoothed. We give it in all its original ruggedness, so far as that can be reduced to print.

The arrival of Fox in Yorkshire and his passing on into Furness may be read at large in his *Journal* (Camb. ed. ii. 37-41).

deer gibed my Love is to thee & elsebeth² & all the rest of the feathfull & thou mast shew thise folowing lines to the carel of anglesle & deser him to shew them to gorg monke or you may get them to him—frend i coming out of the South in to the north above a yeare agoe to Margret feles hous & to veset my frends & as i wos pasing throw yarksher a frend tould me that the sreave of yorksher had tould one of ouer frends docter hogson that ther was

² Perhaps, Elizabeth Trott, at whose house was held a meeting frequently attended by Latey (*London Friends' Meetings*, p. 240).

a plat in the north & when i came to Margret fells hous irote seaveerls paprs to the magrastets aganst the plat & platers & to take all iesesevs³ out of ther minds consaring mee for all plates & platers against the king & his peopell i denyd & one atime when i was gone from margret fell Cornall Kerby sent solgers to surch in boxes & tronkes for mee & when i came agine to her houes a few dayes after i i went my self to Cornall Kerby to his houes & he sead non should nedell⁴ with mee if i would stay at Margret fells & not have great meetings & i said to him the[y] that met at margret fells hous was his nebuers & was a peasable peopell & afer some other wards wee partd & a few dayes after some other magrsstrats & leftanantes sent for mee by a solger out of margret fells hous to com be for them & soe i was not taken out of any meting & when i come be for them the[y] asked mee if i did not know of the plat & i muse nedes knoe of it for eles how could i wright aganost it & i sayed that j never hard of a plat till i came in to yarksher and how that the sreave of yarksher⁵ had said to a frend in that County that ther was a plat in the north & the[y] saw that that would not doe ther bisnes then the[y] put the oath to mee knowin that j could not swar becase Christ & the aposell for bides it soe the[y] mad this ther snar to [send me to Preson]⁶

The letter fills a large sheet; it bears evidence of having been written at thrice, the writing becoming more cramped after each pause.

The letter bears the endorsement of Thomas Lower: "G: ff^s letter to Gylbert Latey for him to shewe to Monke & others off ye Cause off his Imprisoninge," to which the writer of the latter added the date: "1663."

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

³ ? issues.

⁴ ? meddle.

⁵ Sir Thomas Gower, see *Camb. Jul.*

⁶ The writing on the last line has been cut off (probably in order to present to someone a piece of Fox's writing) and the words written on the remaining piece in a modern hand.

VIII

GEORGE FOX TO JUSTICE FLEMING, 1663

This is a long address to the Justice, commencing :

Oh Justice Fleeming.

Mercy and Compassion and love and Kindness
Adorns and Graces men and Magistrates.

It refers to the sufferings of various Friends—Thomas Waters of Bootle, John Stubbs and William Grave, much on the lines of the MS. printed in Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 48. The main portion is signed L.M. On the remainder of page 3 appears some thirteen lines in cypher. Parts have been printed in THE JOURNAL, vii.

This sheet is endorsed by Fox (the only portion of the letter in his handwriting): "justes flimen westmarland this filmon did presen one to death 1663 & flinnen his wife died & one of her childern & shee laft 14 montherles childern a sad iudgment vpon an ould percuter." (See Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 105, 403.)

IX

JOHN ROUS TO MARGARET FELL, 1664

This long and important business communication is printed in *Fells*, p. 222, save for a few words near the close, conveying "love to thee and G ff" from Thomas Coveney,⁷ Elizabeth Trott, Margt Drinkwell and Mary Strutt. Robert *Pring* should, of course, be Robert *Dring*, linen draper at the White Horse in Watling Street, London. Large sums of money are mentioned—£20,000, £10,000, £15,000.

The letter, which passed through the mail, is dated 21st of 9 mo, not 7 mo as given in *Fells*, and is addressed "ffor Margaret ffell this Leave this with Thomas Green Grocer in Lancaster."

⁷ For Thomas Coveney, see THE JOURNAL, ix. 98.

X

JOHN ROUS TO MARGARET FOX, 1669

This brief letter relates to the Testimonies given by relatives and friends at the meetings preparatory to the wedding of George Fox and Margaret Fell. For a reference to these Testimonies see *Camb. Jul.* ii. 154, 416, and for some of the Testimonies see *Crosfield's Margaret Fox*, p. 140.

Dear Sister

I rec^d thine, & in answer to thy desire about w^t my wife & I spoake at y^e meetings, this is to advise thee y^t I have only w^t I spoake at the 2^d meeting & w^t my wife spoake at the last meeting & w^t father & some other freinds spoake though imperfectly, yet with the help of w^t will^m Rogers & Tho: Callowhill took the substance of their speeches may be collected, but it will require some time w^{ch} I cannot now well spare time for a ship being going to Barbados, by w^{ch} I have many letters to write & busines of Concernm^t to dispatch, soe y^t I would desire thee to send w^t was taken of mine & my wives speaking at y^e first meeting w^{ch} was below, & w^t I spoak at y^e 3^d meeting & I may compleat y^m all by next post after for I beleive they were taken imperfectly y^e rec^t for y^e phisack I write vnderneath, w^{ch} I beleive if sister yeamans made use of once in 2 or 3 daies. would doe her good, y^e parliam^t are generally earnest vpon the bill agst meetings, but I am enformed y^t the King nor house of Lords will Joyne in it w^{ch} is most I can enforme thee at present, I am in haste & soe with mine & my wives dear love to thee brothers & sisters & freinds I rest

Thy dearly Lov: Brother

JOHN ROUS

London y^e 23^d of y^e 9th m^o 1669.

The letter bears the endorsement by Fox: "j. r. to m ff What he & m r spake at the meeting at g f his mareg 1669," as to which John Abraham writes: "The above writing is my Dear and Honourd Grand ffathers ffox's" and "Uncle Rous to my Dear and Honourd Grand mothers In 1669"

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

XI

JOHN ROUS TO MARGARET FOX, 1670

This letter is printed in *Fells*, p. 263, in connection with the second imprisonment of M. Fox.

The only portion of the address now remaining is: "Lancaster d d d." The endorsement by Fox runs: "j: rous to mff 1670, m f stat [ement?] at whight hall" to which John Abraham adds: "The above writting as itt is upon the Back of many of these Letters, has been writt by my Dear and pretious Grand ffather George ffox" and "Uncle Rous to my Dear and Honourd Grand Mother In 1670." On the back are also the words: "Sarah Fell thred paper," written by S. F. and "j. r. leters" in Fox's hand

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

XII

JOHN ABRAHAM TO PHINEAS PEMBERTON, 1670

This letter has not, we believe, appeared before in print. In 1876 it was presented by Henry Pemberton, of Philadelphia to Emma C. Abraham, of Liverpool.

John Abraham (1629-1681) was ancestor of the present owner of the letter. His son Daniel married Rachel Fell (see *THE JOURNAL*, i. ; Camb. *Jnl.*)

Phineas Pemberton (1649/50-1702) was apprenticed to Abraham as a "grocer,"⁸ in 1665, bound to him for seven years, twenty-eight pounds being paid by Ralph Pemberton as premium for his son.

Phineas was imprisoned several times in Chester and Lancaster Castles. With numerous others he emigrated to America in 1682 (see *THE JOURNAL*, vii.) and rose into prominence in the new Province of Pennsylvania (MS. in D. partly printed in *The British Friend*, 1845, p. 114; *The Friend* (Phila.), lxxvi. 411; Jenkins's *Pennsylvania*, i. 322; etc.).

⁸ Grocer=dealer in gross=merchant.

XI

JOHN ROUS TO MARGARET FOX, 1870

This letter is printed in *Fells*, p. 263, in connection with the second imprisonment of M. Fox. The only portion of the address now remaining is "Lancaster d. d." The endorsement by Fox runs "to Mrs. John Rous, in 1870, at night hall" to which John Abraham adds: "The above writing as it is upon the back of many of these letters, has been written by my Dear and precious Grand Father George Fox" and "Uncle Rous to my Dear and Honoured Grand Mother, in 1870." On the back are also the words: "Sarah Fell third paper," written by S. F. and "J. F. letters" in Fox's hand.

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

XII

JOHN ABRAHAM TO PHINEAS PEMBERTON, 1870

This letter has not, we believe, appeared before in print. In 1876 it was presented by Henry Pemberton of Philadelphia to Emma C. Abraham of Liverpool. John Abraham (1822-1881) was ancestor of the present owner of the letter. His son Daniel married Rachel Fell (see *The Journal*, i; *Camp*, Feb.) Phineas Pemberton (1849-1902) was apprenticed to Abraham as a "grocer," in 1865, bound to him for seven years, twenty-eight pounds being paid by Ralph Pemberton as premium for his son. Phineas was imprisoned several times in Chester and Lancaster Castles. With numerous others he emigrated to America in 1882 (see *The Journal*, vii) and rose into prominence in the new Province of Pennsylvania. His name is printed in *The British Friend*, 1882, p. 112; *The Friend* (Phil.), lxxvi, 411; *Jennings's Pennsylvania*, i, 322; etc.

! Correspondence is given—

P.P. thy Lett^r And Jo Yarwoods⁹ J receved wth
 A note from the Quarttor meeting J have spoke for two
 shorts for thee, But J thinke J may get thy Libertty At
 our sessions ; it was Given forth y^t y^e Magisttrats would
 send for y^u vnto sessions ; but now J here little or nothing
 of y^t ; my deare Lov seluts Jo^a Yerwood desyr[ing] both
 thou & hee to keepe vnto youre measure or Gift of god
 Given y^u, y^t y^r harts & Mynds may be stayed their
 wthout wayvering for vnles A continnvall wach be
 there will Creepe in y^t w^{ch} will hind^r y^e worke ; And
 Phinnias keepe thou [*paper torn*] Judgement, Jf thou
 prosper in gods Holy truth Judgment must thou know
 thundarings & Earthquaks & gret trubbles such as
 thou nevar knew yet. O Judgment is pressious Lov it ;
 nevar desyre to be freed from it ; for ye y^t flyse Judgment
 flyse from gods Marsis ; And sion Js redeemed thorow
 Judgment, there is noe way ells to Lyfe but thorow
 death : soe yeeld & giv vp vnto it y^t y^e way of Lyfe may
 be knowne) since y^e wryteing here, or since J began to
 wryte this Lett^r J receved thyne deated 27 of last Month ;
 J doe reth^r suppose A lett^r or two of myne Js Mist
 Carried one to thy selfe ; but of noe gret con[sequence ?]
 my deere Lov vnto M ff desyreing her well fayre as my
 one ; J am recovering som thing but not very fast, doe J
 get strength, not Able skarse for to bare y^e Eare wthout
 taking Could ; J sent M ff A few Lynse of pt of my
 Condission or bodely helth, About 8 or 10 days Agone
 as J remembr ; my Lov vnto M. ff daughtt^rs And
 Heastter Hall ; Jf J get thy Libertty As J think J shall
 J shall Endavor for my friend J Yerwood whom J desyre
 his Compeny ; ffrom him whose Lov is to y^u both

JOHN ABRAHAM y^e [*paper torn*]

5th of 8 m^o 1670.

The letter, which is brown and worn with age, is
 addressed : " ffor Phinehas Pemberton this d d At
 Juday Yeats nere ffish stons in Lancast^r a prissoner."

⁹ Numerous Friends named Yarwood resided in Lancashire and
 Cheshire ; there was a John and a Jonathan.

XIII

JOHN STUBBS TO MARGARET FOX, 1670

This letter was printed in *Fells*, p. 270, and copied into Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 148. As there are several errors in *Fells*, repeated in *Fox*, we give below a transcript of the original letter.

Dearly Beloved and Ever honoured in the truth
M. F.

I am now wth thy Dear husband, who is recovering I hope and yesterday in the afternoone, I had a fine opportunity to speake my minde to him being alone in his chamber wth him. I told him I expected to haue a few lines from thee that night but its proued otherwise—he bid me write to thee and his words were thus (tell her I haue been ill, and soe I could not write but now I am better blessed bee the Lord praises to y^e Lord and minde my loue to them all) he had better rest y^e last night then formerly I continue here neare him for I see it is my place and I haue peace in it—he enquires every post for letters but few comes if thou please to write to him at any time thou maist Direct them to mee in a cover to Henry Salters at y^e Black lyon in Bishopsgate or to Edward Mans—I haue not much to Add at present because the Messenger cannot stay. Meetings were pretty peaceable in London the last first day and alsoe at Horsey downe—soe being Constrained to Conclude wth a postscript

Thy Servant in y^e
truth J STUBBS

Enfield at Widdow Dries
house y^e 25^d 8^m 1670.

Alsoe he bidd me tell yee y^t great haue been y^e tendernes and care of friends to him in this Condiçon & *nothing wanting*. 2 or 3 women sits up Every night & sometimes I and men friends formerly—but 2 good women friends constantly.

I would be glad to write to thee every weeke if thou would Order me soe to doe

This letter has, at some time, become detached from the *Journal* MSS. and it is interesting to be able now to study it in connection with these MSS. In the *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 169, we read of Fox's mental and bodily sufferings being alleviated as persecution ceased, and then come the words "as by this folowinge letter in parte appears," to which a note occurs (p. 423)—"No such letter is now attached to the Spence MSS." The letter referred to is, doubtless, the above; there is an * in the MSS. at this place and a similar sign at the top left-hand corner of the letter, and the subject matter is the same.

It is addressed: "For my Truely honoured in the Truth M ff These," and endorsed by Fox: "j stubes to m ff of gf his weeknes 1670 read over."

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

XIV

JOHN ROUS TO SARAH FELL, 1670

This brotherly communication is printed in Crosfield's *Margaret Fox*, p. 147, save the following sentence:

My wife would be glad of yr company, her time now begins to grow short she not reckoning on above ten weekes, she continues very well as to her health, but is pretty heavysome & weary towards night.¹⁰

The writing occupies one side of a quarto sheet. The letter is addressed: "ffor Sarah ffell this To be left wth Thomas Green Grocer in Lancaster." It is endorsed by Fox: "j. r. to m. ff 1670" and by J. Abraham: "Uncle Rous to Aunt Mead when a Made. 1670."

¹⁰ On the 9th of Seventh Month, 1670, five days after the date of the letter, Nathaniel was born. He was the only son to survive the father, became his executor, married Hannah Woods in 1696, and died at Wandsworth in 1717 (*Fells*, p. 391).

XV

JOHN STUBBS TO MARGARET FOX, 1671

This informing epistle is printed in the Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 189-191, from a contemporary MS. copy in D. We now know the location of the original letter and have been able to collate the original with the copy. We are glad to find that they agree save as to pointing and contractions.

The writing fills pages one and three of a folio sheet.

The letter is addressed: "For the hands of Sarah Fell at Swarthmoore Hall in furnace in Lancashire. leaue this for Conveyance wth the Postmaster in Lancaster"; and there is a Fox endorsement: "j stubs to mff 1671 bar badus." On the back of the letter is written: "This is Coppied over being y^e 13 Being from Jo: Stubbs to M: ff."

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

XVI

MARGARET ROUS TO MARGARET FOX, 1672

This is printed in *Fells* (p. 276) with a very slight omission. There is a greater omission from the letter as printed in the American edition of *Fells*, p. 300.

The address is: "ffor Sarah ffell at Swarthmore these. Leave this wth Thomas Greene at his shopp in Lancast^r to be sent as above—Lancashire," and the endorsements: "m r to s ff," and "Aunt Rous to my Dear and Honourd Grandmother."

XVII

THOMAS LOWER TO MARY LOWER, 1673

Printed in *Fells*, p. 287, with errors and omissions: To "Y^e Kinges bedchamber man" is added "Hen. : Sauill" "Our p^recious mother has written a very

Give hart then seemd to be much greater
 & when I was speaking of my presence &
 & when I was taken then began to fight
 by an mee with ~~him~~ ~~me~~ ~~it~~
 there that I was to come it ~~was~~
~~to~~ ~~not~~ ~~the~~ ~~to~~ content with the will
 of god & I was sent ~~from~~ ~~non~~ ~~of~~
 & then was very quiet & then was by
~~my~~ ~~to~~ ~~go~~ ~~to~~ ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~it~~ ~~was~~ ~~well~~ ~~than~~
 did & I had been well then had been more
 ever ~~to~~ ~~me~~ for when I was at that time
 & I saw that I was taken & when
 I was at Bristol as I sat at supper
 when I was taken the night be for I
 was the 3 pound then sent up to me
~~in~~ ~~for~~ ~~it~~ ~~I~~ ~~did~~ ~~write~~ ~~to~~ ~~my~~ ~~friend~~
 to send the money ~~from~~ ~~my~~ ~~friend~~ ~~that~~ ~~did~~
 as will make ~~the~~ ~~game~~ & I had ~~of~~ ~~my~~
 of a very little of money but I shall ~~for~~
~~the~~ ~~of~~ ~~me~~ ~~had~~ ~~a~~ ~~very~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~the~~ ~~best~~
~~in~~ ~~my~~ & the lord of yever if ever all be
 be his name for ever & not only soe but the name
 pres is to be spoken among friends when the time
 is not lived in ~~the~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~very~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~time~~
 & ~~you~~ ~~in~~ ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~a~~ ~~very~~ ~~which~~ ~~is~~ ~~an~~ ~~in~~
 but let it go & Thomas can give you or there
 on a count of all things off
 M. W. D.

1573

affecting letter" should read "W: p:^s [William Penn's] Mother hath writtten a very *affectionate* letter"! Lady Penn's letter is mentioned on the next page of *Fells* and in Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 448. The conclusion of the letter is as follows:

J writt to my Mother [Margaret Fox] y^e last Weeke w^{ch} J hope is receiued: my ffather hath giuen foorth a very large & seruiceable paper touchinge womens meetings w^{ch} if Jnlarged J thinke to bringe with mee.

My father woulde haue y^e inclosed paper to be fairely & truely written: & a copy of it giuen or sent to Rob: Withers & another to be sent or carryed by J: L:¹¹ or R: W: into Cumberlande: & to y^e other Countyes by some faithfull ffriends: & reade in there womens meetings.

The letter is addressed: "ffor Sarah ffell att Swarthmoore these p^sent leaue this with y^e postmaster in Lancaster to be sent as aboues^d Lancasheere." Fox endorsed it: "Tl to Ml 1673 from woster."

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

XVIII

GEORGE FOX TO MARGARET FOX, 1673

No attempt has, apparently, been made to reproduce *in toto* this Fox holograph. We give a photographic reproduction and have attempted a transcription.¹²

der hart thou seemd to be much greeved when j was speaking of presones & & when j was taken thou be gan to fall vpon mee with blaming of mee & j tould thee

¹¹ Probably, James Lancaster.

¹² A glance at the photo reproduction will shew the portions which have been eliminated. The earlier portions which remain as written appear, with slight alteration, in Fox's *Journal*, bi-cent. ed. ii. 206. Maria Webb quotes part of the deleted words in her book (*Fells*, p. 294) as "it cost a great deal of money, but I will save"; we cannot follow her reading of the last word. In several places Fox's meaning is not clear.

that j was to bare it & why could not thee be & be content with the will of god & thou said som wordes & then was pretty quiet & thou was loo [?th] & to going to parker but it was well thou did & it had ben well thou had bin more over it. to mee for when j was at jhon rouses j saw that j was taken presener & when J was at bradiles¹³ as j sat at super j saw j was taken the night befor j was the 3 pound thou sent vp to mee in lew [?] for it j did speake to a frend to send the as much spanesh black cloth as will make the a gounne & it did cost vs a pretty dell of mony bvt j shall faver thomas as & j saw [j] had a wine pres to trade & the both in thing & the lordes pouer is over all blesed be his name for ever and not only soe but the wine pres is to be troden among frends wher the life is not livdin & j her of a ship of thomas edmoneson¹⁴ is cast a way which i had a part in but let it goe & thomas can give you or thee an a count of all things.

g ff.

m 12 d 8 1673

The letter is addressed by Fox: "this for m ff her one hand," and endorsed by him: "g f to m ff 1673. woster of g ff paseges m 12 day 8."

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

XIX

THOMAS LOWER TO SARAH FELL, 1674

For some time Thomas Lower refused liberation from Worcester Gaol, because freedom was not also granted to his companion, George Fox, but, as this letter indicates, he finally agreed to travel north, his place in care for the prisoner being taken by Margaret Fox.

So far as we know this letter has not been seen in print before this.

¹³ That is, *Bray Doily's*. See *Camb. Jnl.*; and *THE JOURNAL*, xi. 101, note 10.

¹⁴ This is an interesting hint at Fox's financial participation in shipping interests.

the white bull: behinde Garstange this first night after our settinge foorth.

Deare Sister Sarah

Wee prouidentially had this letter brought after vs from Garstange to y^e white bull by one whoe was goeing to preston ffaire; Jt seemes Henery Cowarde¹⁵ brought it last seconde day from worcester: & haueinge occasion to turne out off y^e roade to Cockram: misst vs & left this letter att a house in Garstange: to be deliuered to vs in case wee shoulde pass through y^e townde w^{ch} wee did but hearde not off y^e letter nor him: ¹⁶& whether they wee Judge they might heare of our rideinge by through Joseph Sharpes¹⁵ Calinge to speake with Nellys mother: & to tell her off her daughters welfare & to knowe howe her sister gott whome whoe is well gott home; wee had not time to tarry our selues: by y^e Jnclosed you may see howe Jt is with my ffather w^{ch} wee hope is not so bad as wee feared [*words lost in the fold of the paper*] hope to finde him better then we thought off: My Mother woulde haue thee sende to Lancaster as much as Sumpter can traice in the Cart: off her malt: thou must send Jamy of y^e Marsh with it to sell it & if y^e sugar be come hee may Carry y^t whome with him: & if it be not come to send another load againe: for it sells well at Lancaster 16s. p bushell there: wee are all well thus farr: Jo: Sharpe feares the bay mare will tyre, wee thinke wee must putt my boy [*torn*] to ride her: & Joseph before my mother; or my selfe: all our deare [*torn*] loue is to my deare wiffe thy selfe & sister Rachell: & my litle maide¹⁷ [*torn*] soe in hast rests

Thy dearly loueing brother,

THOMAS LOWER.

At the back of the letter is the following in Fox's hand, as if an address for this letter, but as Fox was still in Worcester it could not have been written at the time this letter was penned: "this for m: ff at Swartmore d d." Also there is this endorsement by Fox: "g f to m ff

¹⁵ For these Friends see *Household Account Book of Sarah Fell*.

¹⁶ The words "& whether they" are crossed through.

¹⁷ Probably his daughter, Margaret, b. 28 iii. 1673, d. 15 i. 1674/5.

woster presen 1674 6 m 10 day," which also cannot apply to this letter from Lower to his sister, Sarah Fell, which contains requests from her mother. Lower may have used the fly-leaf of another letter.

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

XX

HENRY FELL TO MARGARET FOX, 1672

This long letter appears in *Fells*, p. 281, in abbreviated form. The following has been omitted :

My deare ffriend J did write to thee by Tho: Briggs when he went from hence with Will: Bayley : it was in my heart from the Lord to write to thee w^{ch} J did in obeydience thereunto at large, and sent it by T: B: and in writing of it J was exceedingly refreshed and my heart was opened in loue, and very much broken by the power of y^e Lord more then ever J was in writing any letter since J knew truth : w^{ch} J am not out of hope but that it may be come to thy hand (though y^t shipp was taken & he and the rest) for J here some letters were delivered w^{ch} went in that ship : and J should be very glad to hear that that came to thy hands And J writ at that tyme one to deare L : ffell, & one to Tho: Salthouse, and did not keepe a copy of any of them then (w^{ch} some tymes J doe) for w^{ch} J am sorry. And now hauing an opportunity J found ffreedome to write to thee desiring to heare from thee ; and whether thou did receiue that letter or nay. And also to acquaint thee that things are very well heare at psent as to truthes affaires : and ffriends in the generall in a pretty good Condition.

The letter is written in a good, clear hand. For another and later letter from Fell to M. Fox, see *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 445. Both are doubtless originals. This letter is addressed : " For my very deare ffriend Margrett Fox at her house at Swarthmore this d d Jn Lancashire " and endorsed by Fox : " h ff to m ff from barbadus of paseges 1672 read "

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

XXI

This is a slip of paper, dated 1676, written by Sarah Fell, and endorsed by John Abraham, being a list of gold pieces, with weight, etc., belonging to Rachel Fell. See *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall*, in preparation.

XXII

MARGARET FAWCETT TO MARGARET FOX, 1677

This is printed in *Fells*, p. 298. The flyleaf with address, etc., has been torn off.

XXIII

This is a legal document, written by Sarah Fell, dated 22nd March, 1678, signed by Hannah Fell, and witnessed by Thomas Penington, John Penington, Edward Crooke, and Thomas Colton. It is referred to in *Fells*, p. 295.

Know all men by these p^sents That whereas upon certaine Articles of Agreem^t and Jndentures of Releases thereupon made between John Rous Margaret^t his wife Thomas Lower Mary his wife Jssabell Yeamans Sarah ffell Susannah ffell & Rachel ffell of the first part Hannah Fell widow Charles ffell Geⁿ by the said Hannah his Mother and Gaurdian Thomas Coulton and Richard Radcliffe of the second part And George ffox Geⁿ and Margaret^t his wife of the third part beareing date the seaventeenth day of January last past Concerninge certaine lands in the Mannor or Lord^{p^{pe}} of Osmunderley alias Osmotherley, It was Covenanted & Agreed by the said John Rous Margaret^t his wife Thomas Lower Mary his wife Jssabell Yeamans Sarah ffell Susannah ffell and Rachel ffell for them their heires executors and administrators and every of them and all others clayminge from by or under them or any of them to Release and for

ever quitt clayme to the said Charles ffell his heires
 Executors Administrators and Assignees All their right
 tytle clayme and demand whatsoever unto certaine
 percells of Land comonly called or knowne by the names
 of Myles Benson wifes meadow, Two New Closes, Whole
 close, Spittlepotts, Linelands, New Close, Cockhole, and
 Barnbeckedale, And whereas the said John Rous and
 Margaret his wife being Absent beyond the seas, and soe
 could not seale or deliver any Release touchinge the
 aforementioned Lands Agreed upon in the Articles and
 Indentures NOW know yee that wee the said Thomas
 Lower Mary his wife Jssabell Yeamans Sarah ffell
 Susannah ffell and Rachel ffell doe Covenant and grant to
 and with the said Charles ffell his Executors Administrators
 and Assignees to save Defend and Keep harmlesse the
 said Charles Fell his heires Executors and Administrators
 and every of them of and from all suites troubles or
 Molestacons whatsoever, any ways Ariseing from or
 by the said John Rous and Margaret his wife for or
 concerning any the said Released or mentoned to bee
 Released lands untill such time as the said John Rous
 and Margaret his wife shall for them their heirs Executors
 and Administrators seale a Release unto the said Charles
 ffell his Executors Administrators and Assignees according
 to the Covenants Clauses Provisoos and Agreements in the
 said Indentures or Articles of Agreement mentoned JN
 WITNESSE whereof wee the said Thomas Lower Mary
 his wife, Jssabell Yeamans, Sarah Fell, Susannah ffell
 and Rachel ffell have hereunto sett our hands and seales
 this Twenty-second day of March Jn ye yeare of our Lord
 God one Thousand Six hundred Seaventy and Eight.

HANNAH fFELL

Sealed signed and De-
 livered in the p^rsence of us
 whose Names are subscribed;
 And Memorandū that at
 and before the sealeinge
 and delivery hereof, Jtt is
 Declared and Agreed by and
 betwixt all the said parties
 and persons Aforenamed,

That when A Release shall
bee sealed as above is men-
tioned by the said John Rous
and his wife, and produced
to y^e said Charles ffell or
Hannah ffell his Mother and
Guardian, That then these
p^rsents shall be voide and
delivered up to the said
Thomas Lower and the rest,
who have sealed the same,
or to some of them to bee
Cancelled.

THOMAS PENINGTON
his m^rke.

JOHN PENINGTON
his marke.

EDWARD CROOKE,

THOMAS : COLTON.

XXIV

WEDDING CERTIFICATE OF DANIEL ABRAHAM AND RACHEL FELL, 1682

This is a contemporary copy, printed in *Fells*, p. 431,
slightly abbreviated. The following is a fuller list of
those who signed as witnesses :

(First column)

THOMAS LOWER.

JOHN HADDOCK.

ROB^T WIDDER.

THOMAS CAMM.

ROGER HADDOCK.

RALPH RIDGEWAY.

ROB^T SALTHOUSE.

LEONARD ffell.

SAMUELL KILNER.

JOHN CURWEN.

BARTHOLOMEW SPENCLEY.

JOHN ffell.

JAMES COOPER.

THOMAS ffell.

JAMES ffell.

WILLIAM SALTHOUSE.

DANIELL COOPER.

JOSEPH SHARPE.

THOMAS SANDERSON.

JOHN HATHORNTHAIT.

EDWARD BRATHAT

WILLIAM HATHORNTATH
 ROBERT BRIGGS.
 JAMES LANCASTER.
 NICHOLUS MARSHALL.
 JAMES WAILES.
 JOHN LINDOW.
 PAULL PENINGTON.
 JOSEPH GOAD.
 WILLIAM FISHER.
 JOHN COWELL
 JOHN DODGSON.
 MATHEW FELL.
 CHRISTOPHER MILNER.
 THOMAS BARNIE[?]

(Second column)

THOMAS DOCKREY.
 LEONARD ADDISON.
 THOMAS HARRISON.
 JOSEPH NICHOLSON.
 THOMAS FISHER.
 NICHOLUS COLLINSON.
 WILLIAM TOWERS.
 WILLIAM BRAITHAT.
 with seuerall others then
 present.

(Third column)

MARGARET FOX.
 MARY LOWER.
 ANNE CAMM.
 JONE GREGGE.

DEBORAH SALTHOUSE.
 DORRITHY WAILES.
 BETTRIS CURWEN.
 ELINER CLAYTON.
 JANET HUTTON.
 ISSABELL GURNELL.
 ELIZABETH SHARPE.
 ELIZABETH DODGSON.
 ANNAS HOLME.
 ISABELL SIMSON.
 DEBORAH LANCASTER.
 ELIZABETH GOAD.
 JANE COWELL.
 ANNAS BENSON.
 ALLIS MYERS.
 MARY ASKEW.
 SARAH FELL.
 SARAH COOPER.
 MARY FELL.
 ELIZABETH MYERS.
 ALICE PARK.
 ALICE ASBURNER.
 ELIZABETH BRIGGS.
 ELIZABETH MILNER.
 AGNES COLLINSON.

(Fourth column)

LETTICE TOWERS.
 ISABELL WILLINSON.
 MARGARET COLTON.
 RUTH BRIGGS.

With diuers others then
 present.

XXV

SARAH MEADE TO RACHEL ABRAHAM, 1683

This letter, containing a long list of various articles of clothing sent, is printed in *Fells*, p. 331, and in *Crosfield's*

Fox, p. 203. It is addressed: "To Rachell Abraham These deliv^r at Swarthm^r In Lancashire," and endorsed: "Aunt Meads Letter to my Dr. & affectionate Mother. J. ABRAHAM."

XXVI

SARAH MEADE TO MARGARET FOX, 1683

This letter also is printed in *Fells*, p. 329. The following sentences were omitted :

Wee are glad to heare thou art bettr^r of y^e fitt of gripeing & Collicke . . . ffriends expects you should keep an exact Acct^t of all your sufferings both thou & y^e rest of y^e ffriends of our meettinge, of what goods were taken from every one, for what, and the value ; & sent up hither to the meettinge of sufferrings, in order to bee putt to the rest of ffriends sufferings, y^t are presented to y^e Kinge, wch you may doe well, to take care in . . .

Sistr^r Susannah entreates sistr^r Abraham to gett her 50^{li} in from John Hodgson of Lancaster, & y^t shee would please to lett her know when shee may expect it, and Likewise shee would haue you call in y^t 40^{li} laid upon Jos : Nicholson land y^t shee may haue it now at Candlemas if possible, for shee was never satisfied y^t y^t money should bee lent to him ; these two sumes aboue wth that 10^{li} y^t Jn^o Bell pays in of hers makes 100^{li} wch shee desires might bee Returned up together at Candlemas next, with y^e intrest of it, & y^e Jntrest of y^t oweinge at Lancr, in wch shee prayes your Care.

Maria Webb's transcription: "Mary Wright's young daughter" should read, as in the original, "Martha Wrights youngr^r daught^r."

The letter, which is in beautiful preservation, is addressed : " To Rachell Abraham at Swarthmore neare Lancaster. These d d d in Lancashire," and endorsed by John Abraham: "Aunt Meads Letter to my Hon^d Grand Mother." Sundry arithmetical calculations occupy the vacant space at the back.

[From the Shackleton MSS.]

XXVII

SARAH MEADE TO MARGARET FOX, 1684/5

Printed in *Fells*, p. 337, and Crosfield's *Fox*, p. 208. The letter is addressed: "To Mary Lower These. Leaue this with Henry Coward Ironmonger at his house to be deliuered as aboue in Lancaster, Lancashire," and endorsed: "Aunt Meads Letter to my Honord Grand mother. J. ABRAHAM."

XXVIII

SUSANNAH FELL TO RACHEL FELL, 1681

This is one of the few letters written by Susannah, which have come down to us. The writing and spelling are greatly inferior to those of her sister Sarah. The place and date of writing have been inserted in the top right-hand corner by Sarah (Meade), the year being 1681, and not 1684 as given by Maria Webb (*Fells*, p. 353, and copied into Crosfield's *Fox*, p. 206), and Rachel then being Fell, not yet Abraham.

As the letter is greatly smoothed in *Fells*, we give it here as written :

Gooseyes ye 14th of ye 12^{mo} 1681.

Deare & well beloued Sister Rachell

haueing soe good a portuntiy of sendeing by L: fell Could not but giue thee the trobell of a shorte salutashon of onfened loue to thee & my duty to my deare mother for your Rememberanc is uery plesente to mee & I can truely saye its neder lenth of time nor distance of miles make uide or elenette my loue to youe; Lenerd came but this mor[n]ing heder & goes agene to nitte to London soe I [haue] uery littel time to writte onely to lette youe know that wee are all uery well euery way & I haue my helth; much better then I had at Swarmore soe I thinke this eare agre well with mee & for Nuese I haue none nor I know none but when I haue any thing worth your notes shall not feall to Lette youe know. Bro: Sis:

Mead deare loue Duty is to mother & Bro Mead often speakes of thee with a grette Deall of loue & Reall Respette there loues is to thee & Bro: Sis: Lower my Deare loue to thee & them & to Marge lower lepard steayes soe I am much hasned for time & Ristes

Thy Deare & Loueing Sister

SUSANNAH FELL

The words sprawl over one side of a single leaf—there is no writing on the back.

XXIX

JOHN ROUS AND SARAH MEADE TO MARGARET FOX,

1685/6

Maria Webb transcribed Rous's letter and printed it in her book (*Fells*, p. 354), but omitted a communication from S. Meade written on the back. The Rous letter is also printed in Crosfield's *Fox*, p. 207. The omitted letter is as follows :

London ye 20^o of 1st moth 168⁵.

Dr & Honoured Mother

I writt thee last weeke & sent thee y^e Kings Generall Pardon, & a Coppy of A perticular order for friends ; w^{ch} since, the Kinge has signed with his owne hand ; & has directed it to y^e Attorney Generall, who is to send out pticular orders to euery County ; w^{ch} friends are now about getting out in order to bee sent into y^e Counties, as soone as they cann bee finished—wee haue thoughts of goeing into y^e country to Gooseyes within 10 : dayes or thereabouts ; & were desireous to haue gone sooner but haue been prevented. last first day our man Eusebius Sheppard was taken ill, haueing been of late often not well, occasioned by often bleeding at nose w^{ch} much weakened him, & could not bee stopt ; hee tooke himselfe to his bed, & soone after hee was in his bed, vomitted blood ; & grew weaker & weaker, & about 11 : a clocke at night died ; it was A Surprize to us, being soe sudden, and my

Husband will want him in his businesse; w^{ch} will cause a litle more his owne care ouer his Affaires. wee are all well here Blessed bee y^e Lord & onely adds at p^sent the Remembrance of my Husbands mine & Sistrs dear loue & duty to thee; & our kinde Loue to Bro: & Sistrs with Cousins from

Thy dutifull daughter,

S: M.

wee haue Rec^d noe Lett^r from you this weeke please to tell Jⁿo Dodgson J Rec^d a Lett^r from him yesterday, with one to his sonn James, w^{ch} J will endeavor to deliuer to him, if hee come to Towne before wee goe into y^e Country—Remember my loue to Jⁿo & his wife, & tell them J am sorry they should put them selues to y^e trouble & charge to send mee any salt butt^r; the winter has been soe milde, wee haue grasse butt^r already here.

The letter is addressed: "ffor Rachell Abraham This at Swarthmore To be left with John Higgins in Lancaster"

XXX

SARAH MEADE TO MARGARET FOX, 1686

This letter, containing various and intimate family touches, has not been reduced to print ere this, so far as we know.

Gooseyes y^e 7th of y^e 2^d moth 1686.

Deare & Honoured Mother

Wee Rec^d Bro: Abrahams Lett^r of y^e 25th last moth and are glad y^e Kings Proclamation, y^t wee sent did ffriends service.—wee came to this place last 5th day, & gott well hither with our Childe, for w^{ch} praised bee the Lord; before wee came from London, Nathanaell had a loosenesse for aboue 2 weekes, w^{ch} wee thought did him good, & carried of his flegme & stoppage at his stomacke; & J

was in hopes, when hee came into the country, it might haue abated, but it yett continues upon him: haueing 4: or 5: stooles in a day & a night, w^{ch} keeps him pretty weake & low; & his stomacke is weake; wee are fearfull to giue him things to stopp it least hee should bee worse; for wee suppose hee is A breedinge some more great teeth; & severall haue told mee y^t many Children breeds their teeth with A Loosenesse, w^{ch} many Reckons best:—J am a litle fearefull of him about it; though hee is pretty chearfull, wee giue him strengthening things, but hee drinks spring water yett; w^{ch} wee haue thought has done well with him: J earnestly desire thy Prayer^s to the Lord for his preservation (if it bee his will) y^t hee may bee an Instrum^t in his hand to his Glory; & may feare & serue him all his dayes:—Sister Susannah is sometimes out of ord^r, as shee used to bee at y^e Springe of y^e y^e but hath been much bett^r last winter & this Springe then shee hath been formerly at such seasons; for w^{ch} my heart & soule hath often praised y^e Lord. my Bro: Rouses son wee heard when wee came out of Towne was pretty well Recoured & y^e rest of y^e family was well for any thing J heard ffather came to Towne last weeke. wee heare y^t Nath: Brassey & his onely sonn are both to be buried this day, both in one Coffin¹⁸; the Childe was a fine liuely Childe about a year^e & a quater old, & J did not heare but they were both well when wee came out of Towne;—its A sickly time in these parts; & seuerall haue died pretty suddenly, both ffriends & others—wee are glad to heare y^t Bro: Abrahams daughter is like to doe well; the childe may doe very well although shee is weaned, many chuses hereawayes rather to bringe children up by y^e spoone, then suckle them (unlesse they either sucke their owne Mothers, or haue very good Nurses); & they doe very well; as J hope theires may doe.¹⁹ J haue litle

¹⁸ According to the London Friends' Registers, Nathaniel Brassey, the younger, died on the 4th of Second Month, aged fifteen months, and his father, Nathaniel Brassey, aged forty years, on the 7th, which was the same day as the date of Sarah Meade's letter. Several daughters died young both before and after this date.

N. Brassey (Bracey) was a goldsmith, of Lombard Street. He was an active Friend and Minister, and a faithful testimony-bearer.

¹⁹ Alas! This hope was not realised. Little Margaret died within three months of the date of this writing. See No. xxxiv.

more at p̄sent, but our duty & deare Respects to thee
& our kinde Loue to Bro: & Sistr Abraham, with Sistr
Lower & her Children and y^t I am

Thy dutifull Daught^r.

S: M.

I would Entreate Brother Abraham or Sister to
call for y^e Jntrest of Jⁿo ffoster of Lanc^r beinge 3^{li} 12^s 0^d
w^{ch} was due at Christmas last, & is Sistr Susans; & of
Tho: Metcalfe of Lanc^r for 6^{li} 0^s 0^d w^{ch} was due at Candle-
mas last; & is ffathers; and to gett it Returned to
London, to Sistr Susan or my selfe, y^t it may bee p^d as its
due.

The sheet on which above is written is in an admirable
condition. It is addressed: "To Rachell Abraham at
Swarthmore neare Lancaster These d d d in Lancashire."

XXXI

SARAH MEADE TO MARGARET FOX, 1686/7

A short letter, written on one page of a 4to sheet,
and addressed as the previous one.

Gooses y^e 15th of 1st moth 168⁶₇.

Deare & honoured Mother

Wee Rec^d thine yesterday of y^e 4th Instant and are
sorry thou should bee soe much troubled about what wee
writt of Sistr Susannahes comeinge downe shee doth
intend to come, & did; and would know what time will
Answer to bee there before Sister Abrahams Lieinge in,²⁰
which thou doth not mention in this Lett^r. what wee
writt was my Husbands minde & mine, & as to her
Returne to us againe (w^{ch} wee still much desire & hope
for), wee must leaue it to the Lord & to thee & her.—
wee came to Gooses last 7th day with our litle boy, who is

²⁰ John, only surviving child of D. and R. Abraham was born on the
28th of Fourth Month, 1687.

fine & well with the Rest of our family, praised bee the Lord. My Father is still at Kingstone, where they were all well lately; Father desires that you would Returne him y^t 30^{li} thou mentioned formerly thou has for him, & y^e 10^{li} y^t Hugh Tickle left him; w^{ch} 40^{li} if you pay to Bro: Lower; my Husband has Rec^d a bill of 40^{li} from Tho: Salthouse upon Bro: Lowers Acct w^{ch} if hee & you soe Agree, may bee p^d my Father here, w^{ch} will bee easy & Convenient for you all; And if it bee soe concluded, pray advise us in your next y^t this 40^{li} may bee p^d to my Father for J pceiue hee wants his money. James Dickonson²¹ of Cumberland is now here goeing towards Colchester; hee Remembers his Loue to thee, & to Bro: & Sister Lower & Bro: & Sister Abraham. my Husband went yesterday to London & is there; J know his duty & Respects is to thee, & his Loue to Broth^{rs} & sist^{rs}: the Remembrance of w^{ch} please also to Receiue from Sistr & from

Thy Dutifull daught^r

S: M.

XXXII

MARGARET ROUS TO MARGARET FOX, 1695

This sorrowful letter respecting the non-arrival of John Rous from beyond seas appears in *Fells*, p. 386, and in *Crosfield's Fox*, p. 220.

It is addressed: "ffor Rachell Abraham at Swarth more these To be left at Henery Cowards to send as above in Lancaster Lancashire" and endorsed: "Aunt Rous sorrowfull Letter to my Dear and Honoured Grand Mother Relating y^e loss of her Dear and Tender Husband, my Uncle Rous. 1695"

²¹ James Dickinson (1659-1741) was an active Friend towards the end of the first period of Quakerism and in the earlier years of the second. He lived an eventful life and had numerous narrow escapes by land and sea. He was three times in America, in 1691, 1695, and 1713. His *Journal* was brought out in 1745 and again in 1847.

XXXIII

WILLIAM INGRAM TO MARGARET FOX, 1695/6

Printed in *Fells*, p. 385, with some modernization of phrasing. It is addressed: "To Rachell Abraham At Swarthmore neare Lancaster In Lancashire."

XXXIV

DANIEL ABRAHAM TO PHINEAS PEMBERTON, 1695

See No. XII.—a letter from the father of the present writer to his friend and apprentice.

Deare ffr^d Phineas Pemberton

In that love wherein the Lord hath been pleased to extend of his mercye unto my soule & bodye (blessed be his Name) and thereby in some measure to prevaile upon mee ffor to love him againe, in a Measure of this Love art thou often brought up in my remembrance, & neare unto mee though our bodyes ffar seperated, and though y^e time of my acquaintance with thee was in my minority when thou was in my ffathers ffamielye, yett thy Truthlike behaviour & ffidelitye hath an evidence in my heart; and haveing the opertunitye of the bearer our deare ffriend & ffaithfull labourer in the blessed Gospel of peac James Dickenson I doe hereby send the salutation of my Mother ffox's myne and my wifes deare Love unto thee thy wife and Children, being glad to hear by a Letter thou sent to Ralph Ridgway dated the last 3^d month of thy wellfare & prosperitye, & allsoe the testimonye thou therein inclosed concerning my deare ffather deceased. I have good Unitye with, & doe think it will have its service; my outward being is att Swarthmoore, amongst the manyfould mercyes of the Lord bestow'd upon mee, the Lord hath been pleased, blessed be his Name, to provide ffor mee a very loveing wife, & one I believ truly ffeareing the Lord & seeking the honour of his Name & Truth & in a ffew words a meet

help for mee (blessed be the Lord) and she hath borne unto mee three soñs and a daughter,²² of which I have onely one soñ liveing whom I call John & is about eight years old : my sister is Maryed to one Lawyer Cheatham & liv's in Manchester, Mary Moor's allsoe lately liveing, but being something straitned in point of time & expecting that R: Ridgway will write more large unto thee I doe not think at present much to enlarge : I should be glad to receive a Letter ffrom thee as thou hath opportunity and art ffree soe in the same Love in which I begun this doe I conclude itt ffrom

Thy truely loveing ffriend

DA^L ABRAHAM.

Swarthmoore

ye 11th of 9th moth 1695.

The letter is addressed : " To Phineas Pemberton In Pensylvania." The letter was given to the present owner with the one numbered XII.

XXXV

MARY CHETHAM TO DANIEL ABRAHAM, 1697

Mary Chetham was a daughter of John Abraham ; in 1683 she married Edward Chetham, of Chetham and Nuthurst (1647-1714). She was buried 27 February, 1706. They were not Friends. See *Camb. Jul.* i. 465.

Brother

I have rec^d yours Likewise my Sistars Token it lookath like A very fine one and wee take it verry kindly from her & giveath her many thanks for it which is All

²² The Lancashire Registers record the births and burials of three only of D. and R. Abraham's children—Margaret, 1685-1686, John, 1687-1771, Thomas, 1689-1695. Thomas died only two days before the date of this letter—it is strange that the father did not refer to this so recent event when writing of his family to P. Pemberton.

having but little time to inlarge only our true respects to
y^r selfe and my Sistar and Cozen from y^r Affactionate
Sistar

MARY CHEATHAM.

Manchest^r

y^e 27^d of Octobr 97.

Wee have sent y^e hatts by y^e bearer.

The letter is addressed: "These For M^r Daniell
Abraham Att Swarthmoore."

XXXVI

This is a pedigree of the Chetham family, in the
handwriting of the late Joseph Foster, dated 1876. See
previous number.

XXXVII

DANIEL ABRAHAM TO MARGARET FOX AND WILLIAM
INGRAM, 1697/8

This valuable business epistle has been included
by Helen G. Crosfield in her *Margaret Fox*, p. 226, down
to about the middle of the postscript. This postscript
continues:

John Carlile young^r was lately here, and desired
to have his dear Love remembred unto thee; Geo:
Knipe²³ allsoe whoe is now here desires to have his deare
Love remembred unto thee & ffriends; I have receivd
of Leonard ffell 40^s for Pettyes Rent & given him a receipt
for it; which please to receive of Brother Ingram with
what more thou thinks ffit, when my bill is accepted &
payd, to Brother Ingram.

²³ George Knipe (1653-1709) was a blacksmith of Lancaster (THE
JOURNAL, x. 163). Other notices state that he lived at Monk Coniston,
near Hawkshhead (*Picty Promoted: The Friend* (Lond.), 1865, p. 29;
Satterthwaite, *Colthouse Burial Ground*, 1914, p. 32; MSS. in D.).

Then follows immediately on the same sheet :

Deare Brother Ingram

Thy kind Letter of y^e 25th of last month wee Receiv'd and sinc p Mothers Letter have receiv'd advice that thou hath receivd a bill of 30^{li} from Manchester upon my Acct which is less then I gave Nehemiah Loe Order to send, however doe desire thee [to] accept thereof for the present, and to pay thereof to Mother [*paper torn*] she pleaseth & place y^e rest to Acct & within a few wee[ks] I intend to returne more; It is now I think severall months sinc I returned Cozen ffell p bill 15^{li} which when payd I desird him to let thee see it made receiv'd on y^e back of my bond, w^{ch} is in ffull for all Intrest till y^e begining of last 8th month, of w^{ch} please in thy next to advise mee whether he brought the bond to thee & made it receiv'd accordingly or not, allsoe if thou meet with an oportunitye I desire thou will please allsoe (if thou think ffit) to ask him whether he will accept of his money if it come some months after y^e year end, for I writt him word some time sinc y^t unless he was willing to let mee have it at 5^{li} p Añ as I had ffomerly payd him, I did think to pay it in; which with y^e remembrance of myne and my wifes deare Love and Respects unto thy self, Sister, & Cozens is most att prest ffrom

Thy truely Loveing & much Oblig^d Brother

DAN^{ll} ABRAHAM.

Margaret Fox was at this time in London (see *A Quaker Post-Bag*, 1910, pp. 134, 140; *Crosfield's Fox*, p. 196.

XXXVIII

This is a fragment written by D. Abraham, detailing the rents of various properties around Swarthmoor Hall.

according to the Rentall I purchased by viz. :
fflan Close ̄ estimation 3 acres Rent ̄
anñ 02 10 : 00

Townebank close & little close att fflan	4 ac ^{rs}	03 : 00 : 00
Newclose y ^e less & linelands \mathfrak{P} estimation	5 ac ^{rs}	04 : 02 : 08
Newclose y ^e greater \mathfrak{P} estima ^o n	4 ac ^{rs}	03 : 03 : 00
Cockhole \mathfrak{P} estima ^o n	.. 1 & $\frac{1}{2}$	01 : 06 : 00
Longhawbarow \mathfrak{P} estima ^o n	.. 2	01 : 01 : 00
Hole Close \mathfrak{P} estima ^o n	.. 1 & $\frac{1}{4}$	01 : 02 : 00
Barnebeck dales about 2 acrs & 3 roods		02 : 06 : 00
Lund meadow \mathfrak{P} estima ^o n	.. 4 acrs	04 : 00 : 00
Starr meadow \mathfrak{P} estima ^o n	.. 5 acrs	03 : 17 : 06
Lund Crag \mathfrak{P} estima ^o n	.. 1 acre	01 : 00 : 00
Dickenson dale \mathfrak{P} estima ^o n	1 acre & $\frac{1}{2}$	01 : 03 : 00
Houses then in Jo: Richardsons possession		
\mathfrak{P} a ⁿ m	.. ..	07 : 00 : 00
two shopp ^s adjoineing thereto valued in		
\mathfrak{P} a ⁿ m	.. ..	02 : 10 : 00
Tot of Rent \mathfrak{P} a ⁿ m	38	01 : 02

which at 20 years purchase y^e rate I
 purchased at comes to .. 761 : 00 : 00
 if it be thought reasonable I shall pay Asesmts: ffor
 this together wth y^e rest of y^e Estate;

Following the list is a small portion of a letter from Rachel to her mother.

It commences:

"Deare Mother Thy deare leter" and contains only a few letters at the beginning of twenty-three lines, the remainder having been torn away. At the back are the words: "To Margrett ffox," evidently a part of the address.

XXXIX

WILLIAM INGRAM TO MARGARET FOX AND RACHEL
 ABRAHAM, 1699

In the second English edition (1867), p. 347, and the American edition (1896) of *Fells*, the subject of this and later letters is introduced as follows:

About this time [the close of the seventeenth century] some Friends in the North of England started an objection to the payment of fee-farm rent-charge, such as was attached to the Swarthmoor estate. They maintained that it was a form of tithe originally got up for the maintenance of a priesthood, and as such, that the Friends should leave them who claimed it to distrain rather than pay voluntarily. The idea laid hold of Daniel Abraham's conscience, and acting on it, the person whose right it was, sued him with the view of dispossessing him. This involved expensive law proceedings and much perplexity to the family. Thomas Lower, whose estate of Marsh Grange was held under a similar tenure, did not unite in Daniel Abraham's scruples. Nor did his brother-in-law, William Ingram. In connection with the case, D.A. repaired to London, where his friends and relations laboured to convince him of his error, and at length they appear to have succeeded.

This letter now appears in print for the first time, so far as we know :

Lon^d the 16th of y^e Xth m^o.

1699

D^r hounourd mother
& D^r Sister Abraham

I haue not wrote of late, Supposeinge brother Abraham has acquaintd you of his owne affaires And what else hath been proper for your enformation ; and I thought not to haue wrote dureinge y^e time of his abode here, but wee beinge under y^e exercise of his buisness—as wee are sensible yee are much more, being more imediately concerned in y^e country, I thot Conuenient to giue you a short account how things stand at y^e present, y^e matter is not as yet brought before y^e debuty Remembrancer to be Taxed—but depends ; & he is still here, waiteinge upon that occasion—wee not thinkeinge it necessary he should depart, till it be fully settled & adjusted, y^e chief cause of my writeinge now, is to acquaint you, that this eueinge my Broth^r Lower & I were with S^r Tho: Rawlinson, to offer him paym^t of y^e last years Rent, carryinge money to discharge it, but

he would not receiue it, sayinge it would disorder his acco^{ts} to take so small a part of it here, and that he would haue it paid to his receiuer in y^e Country, exclaimeing agst Brother Abraham for putting him to so great trouble & calling his Title in question which has not been done by any but himself wee told him his refusall was as he thought upon a Conscientious acco^t & would haue him put a fauorable Construction upon it, but he would by no meanes be pswaded but it was a dishonest designe in him, to defeat him of his right, exclaimeinge y^e more because he sayd ther was 111^{li} paid to him to discharge this Rent, which is not questioned by any but himself—saying broth^r Lower paid it; so we thinke it will be safe for you to see it paid to his receiuer, I thinke he sayd his name was Simpson of flookburrough howeuer let it be paid least y^e neglect of it should add a furth^r Charge, he told us, he did expect his receiuer would in a few dayes, giue him an acco^t that all his Rents to y^e time called Michaelmass last were paid—tho' he knew not by what hands it would be done, I mention this passage, doubtinge least some aduersaries should do it, thereby to make a gaine to y^m selues, by preyinge furth^r upon y^e Estate, which cannot be p^uented but by a timely paym^t of y^e Rent, wee haue laboured much to bring my Broth^r to an understandinge & satisfaction in y^e matter, being satisfied it could not be Tithes, because, ther is tithes payed besydes this incumbrance out of y^e Estate, & I thinke he was Conuinct of his errour & mistake, before he tooke out y^e Contents of what is recorded in y^e Dutchy office, which declares it to be a fee farme Rent, & therefore may without any further doubt or scruple be paid hereafter, wee were not willinge to omitt this post, supposeinge if y^e Rent be paid before this next quarter day—it may put a stopp to ther proceedings, who seem uery sharp and designeing to make aduantages, out of y^e ruines of other mens Estates—especially where they haue y^e pretence of Lawes on ther sides, or for ther justification—It has happened uery strangly that this damage & loss, should be sustained without a due enquiry into y^e nature of y^e Claime, but seeinge whats past cannot be recalled, wee hope for y^e future it may be avoided And that y^e

exercise occasioned therby, may not afflict you any more, nor those concerned for you here; as to y^e purchasing of it off; it does not seem probable at p^{re}sent, but if any thing can be done hereaft^r y^e oppertunity will be taken notice of by Bro. Lower who has been uery painefull & diligent in this buisiness hitherto; this with mine & my wiues duty to our D^r mother & endeared loue to thyself & son—as Broth^r Abrahams also is—

I rest

Thy truely Loucinge brother

W^m INGRAM.

XL

WILLIAM INGRAM TO RACHEL ABRAHAM

NO DATE

This letter must have been written about the same date as No. XXXIX. Portions appear in the two editions of *Fells* named under the previous number.

D^r Sister

Wee rec^d thine this week & haue truely sympathized with thee, & our dear mother in all your Sufferings distresses & damage, happened thro' this unadvised refuseall of payinge y^e fee farme Rent—but wee did not thinke it Conuenient to expose y^e sight of it to any but ourselues, my broth^r thy husband was not acquaint^d with y^e Contents—but y^e forgoeinge I just now read to him & he approues of it but this part he knowes not of, so thou may dispose of it as thou pleasest wee greatly pittty thy exercised Condition—but knowe as y^e Lord is eyed & had regard unto—he is able and in due time will giue ease to y^e afflicted; wee had our deare mothers letter direct^d to my wife, which wee gaue thy husband a sight of & he seemed pleased with it—my bro. & sist^r Mead are now in Towne, & they with Broth^r Lower & rest of Relations, all sympathize with you, for whose sakes wee are thus Concerned—Once more with our vnfaigned loue—Rests—thy affectionate & Lo. Bro.

W. I.

wee haue dealt uery plainly with my Brother, in this affair & hope it will haue a good effect being done in loue.

ther need be no fear of a sequestration to come upon you that is stopt, its onely y^e Costs that is dependinge.

On the verso of the sheet occurs the following, written by R. Abraham :

I doe Requestt the fauor of thee to lett mee know by the bearer wheder the wholle of y^e Rectory Rent bee any more than 42^u & wheder the prest haue any partt therof for his Benefit if not what way hee hath his sallery the doeing herof will greatly oblige thy ffrind

to serue thee

R A

XLI

WILLIAM INGRAM TO MARGARET FOX, 1700

The major portion of this interesting letter concerning the future of Nathaniel Meade is in print in *Fells*, p. 399. The following was omitted :

Through mercy I and my wife with Relations here, are continued in y^e like condition of health altho it is a sickly time with many—& Charles Bathurst²⁴ an ancient ffr^d is lately dead. I had a letter yesterday from my sist^r Morrice²⁵ at Lincoln, who after haveing signified her desire, of knowing how it was with thee, advises of a state of mortality in ther Country attended wth a sort of

²⁴ Charles Bathurst, grocer and confectioner, of London, died on the 4th of Seventh Month, 1700. His widow, Grace (*née* Hubbard), died in 1703. He was the father of Elizabeth Bathurst (c. 1655-1685, who for seven years prior to her early decease took a prominent place among Quaker missionaries. For an account of her, see Whiting's *Memoirs*, and the volume of her Testimony and Writings, entitled *Truth Vindicated*, first published in 1691, and reprinted from time to time down to 1788.

²⁵ Isabel Fell married firstly William Yeamans, and later Abraham Morrice. See *Camb. Jnl.*

feauor which occasions sudden death, & many dye of it—y^e like in some measure has attended people hereaway—but y^e distemper not so extreame. Wee haue been giuen to understand that my sist^r Rouse took her journey from pontefract,²⁶ some time since to giue thee a vissitt—& sist^r Lower more lately went from hence, in order thereunto. Wee hope they are both safely arriued, though wee heard not of sist^r Lower, since her acct from Lancaster & of her being ther last 4th day was a weeke, except my Broth^r had anything by yesterdays post, whome since I haue not seen. I desire they may knowe if no better Information come to ther hands that I saw Coussen Nath^l Rouse²⁷ last night, & he sayd both he, his wife, & son were well—and my Brother Lower on y^e 5th day acquaint^d me his family was in like Condition.

The whole letter occupyes two full folio pages. There is not either address or endorsement.

XLII

WILLIAM MEADE TO MARGARET FOX, AND SARAH MEADE TO RACHEL ABRAHAM, 1687

This letter of advice respecting the untoward conduct of Hannah, widow of George Fell, is in *Fells*, p. 339.²⁸ The upper half of the sheet is in Sarah Meade's hand. At the back of the letter is one from Sarah Meade to her sister Abraham, which is as follows :

²⁶ Pontefract was the home of Margaret Rous's daughter Bethiah and her husband, David English.

²⁷ Cousin, *i.e.*, nephew—Nathaniel Rous married Hannah Woods in 1696. The son may have been John, who survived his father only five years. See *Fells*, p. 391.

²⁸ There is some divergence of view respecting the motive which prompted the action taken by George Fell in connection with his mother's premunire. It has been stated that he took the only course open to him for the preservation of Swarthmoor Hall for the family. The action of his widow has not yet received sufficient attention to warrant an expression of opinion on our part.

See *Fells*, pp. 254, ff; *Fox*, pp. 34, 126, 141, 144; *Extracts from State Papers*, 116, 227; *THE JOURNAL*, ix., 199, 287; *Elizabeth Hooton*, 1914.

Deare Sister Abraham.—Jn Answer to thine about osmotherleyes Rent, if thou please to Returne up what belonges to Sistr Rous & J, with Medcalues intrest of Lancast^r, J may take care to pay it here when it comes. As for flost^rs intrest, & sistr Susannahes part of osmotherleyes Rent, shee desires thou would keep them in thy hands for her till shee comes downe: & as for beginninge her Journey to you shee saith, shee is willinge to sett out of London, the next 2nd day, after whitsuntide weeke soe called is ouer, which will bee y^e 23th of May; if it may suite with Leo: fells's Conueniency; but shee hopes to giues you a more certaine acct when the time is nearer J sent in a box p Ja: Geldart, w^{ch} was for Bro: Lower—2^{li} of chocoletta for my Dr Mother & thy selfe, with 2: bookes of Testimonies touchinge Ann Whiteheade; J hope you haue Rec^d them. wee are all well here praised bee y^e Lord; and desires thee to giue our duties & d^r Respects to our dr Mother & our deare Loue to thy Husband & to Bro: & sistr Lower, w^{ch} alsoe Receiue thy selfe ffrom Thy truely Loueing Sistr

S: M:

 XLIII

MARGARET FOX TO DANIEL AND RACHEL ABRAHAM,
1690

Printed in *Fells*, p. 360, and in *Fox*, p. 214. It is not autograph.

 XLIV

WILLIAM INGRAM TO MARGARET FOX, 1691/2

Printed in *Fells*, p. 379, and in *Fox*, p. 191.

It is endorsed by Rachel Abraham: "Brother Jngrams Letters to ouer Deare Mother." Her son John adds: "The above has been writt by my Dear Mother Rach^l Abrah^m"; and a later hand tells us: "The above written by John Abraham."

XLV

ABIGAIL TRINDEL (*alias* CURTIS) TO RACHEL ABRAHAM,
1706

This letter is endorsed by John Abraham: "A Letter from an old Servant of my Mothers—my Dear Mothers wise Deportment was Such y^t she was much respected."

October y^e 29th 1706

Dear & Loving Mistress

Thou might Justly think me Ungratefull to those many favours which I have Received from thee & my Good Master, because I have not paid my Acknowledgments to you Both as those great undeserved kindnesses did require But I trust your wonted Goodness will put another construction upon my Actions, Since my heart will ever bear a most dutiful Remembrance of your many favours, For the true Reason of my not paying my Respects to you both in a few lines oftner than I have was principally my Consciousness of having disoblged you by my Marrying out off the meeting, being confirmed therein by never having y^e favour of hearing from you tho' I wrote twice, And tho' I have had the misfortune to marry so, yet I have got a verry honest Man who never debarrs me off going to y^e meetings of ffriends as oft as I please; So that I want for nothing but y^e Conversation of a Husband of my own Principles which yet I must Own is a great Loss. I hope thou wilt be pleased never the less to continue thy favourable Opinion towards me and to condescend to Accept this Small token of a dozen & a half of Lemmons which had bin more onely I was afraid they would corrupt before they come to thee, and if these Or any thing in Dublin I know would be Acceptable to thee, thou hast nothing to doe but comānd me. After my humble respects to my Good master & thy self, I give my tender Love & service to my young Master John, which with my humble desire of the favour of a Line from thy hand (if not too great a trouble) that I might hear ye are all well, as I am praise to God, is

all from her who is in all sincerity thy most thankful
obliged humble servant

ABIGAIL TRINDEL AL. CURTAS.

If thou dost favour me with a Letter, please to direct
it to John Trindall at Vandyke's head in Dames Street,
Dublin.

The writer shews signs of good education, although
described as a "Servant." Her penmanship is much
better than that of her late mistress. The address is :
"To Rachel Abrams Living at Swarthmore hall in
Fornas in Lancashire."

XLVI

JOHN GREEN TO JOHN ABRAHAM, 1709

This is an interesting account of the writer's visit to
the Low Countries.

Rotterdam, ye 7th 10^{br}.

1709 N : S :

My ffriend

I am favoured with yours, w^{ch} I received at York
at ye meeting ye week, ere I set forward on my journey
& now these comes in answer thereunto, & lest y^{ee} shou'd
think I have sleighted y^{ee} in being so retard in writing,
shall shew my reasons, 1st being so near my going,
thought it not so convenient till I was safe arrived,
2^{dly} being arrived 'twas better to wait till I had
little acquainted my self with ye Country & customes
thereof, ye w^{ch} I hope will satisfie you, (having lived a
while in ye Country for ye benefit of ye Language, there
being so many English in this Citye, y^t it's impossible
to attain to it in a short time) have somtimes divertized
my self with travelling, & therefore shall give y^{ee} in short
y^t ye fame thereof runs far short of its desert, & y^t ye
inhabitants are ye cunnenest people in ye world for getting

mony, & indeed I must say it's far pleasanter for y^e traveller y^a y^e inhabitant, it being a very unhealthfull place as I have a little experienced; for I have traveled among so many Curiosities, w^{ch} made me many times to wonder, for they have their sluyces, where (if an enemy should aproach can lay their whole Country under water, it running in most places higher y^a y^e Land, being kept in by banks, y^e sea likewise being much higher y^a y^e Country, especially in y^e North where it's bounded wth huge banks of earth, rampired wth strong planks they have also mills to throw out y^e water, otherwise y^e Country would become a sea, their Cytyes are built as in y^e sea, having water run throw their streets, so y^t can bring y^e ships each to his door, our travelling is all by water, for it's a wonder to see a man on horseback, & many other excellent conveniences they have, but as for those things where of you write, I see no such plenty, they being as common in Engeland as here, & that if I should buy some rarities must pay extravagantly for them, therefore desirer thy further advice, & shall do my endeavour, but y^e best wou'd be to come over your self & see all y^e Curiosities hereof, where as now you only have by hearsay, & y^t not y^e one half, & when here might also go & see y^e army, w^{ch} would be worth your while, as for y^e sea in summer time there's no danger, it wou'd be y^e finest divertizement in y^e world for such a gentleman as you, & I assure if had your estate I would not be kept so under confinem^t to my pen, for there's nothing in y^e world y^t so accomplishes young men as travelling, & now (My friend) lest I should be tedious (my own business also calling me away) shall conclude, with kind love & sincere respects

Your faithfull fr^d

JOHN GREEN.

pray present my respects
to thy father & mother
& excuse hasty scribbling

This fine piece of penmanship is addressed: "For John Abraham att Swarthmore near Ulverstone Lancastershire Great Brittain."

XLVII

RACHEL ABRAHAM TO JOHN ABRAHAM, 1712

This truly motherly letter is printed in full in *Fells*, p. 411. It is addressed by Daniel Abraham: "To Jo^a Abraham att Doc^r Lowers In London."

XLVIII

JOHN ABRAHAM TO JANE ROUSE NO DATE

This short letter, coming from one of the second generation of Friends, shews us something of the interest still taken in the literature of the first period.

The addressee, Jane Rouse, is unknown to us.

my Esteemed ffriend

Jane Rouse

I have sent Thee a Book out of Dr Grand Mothers large Collection of ffriends Books printed in those early times; This is a particular piece writt by Richard Hodden a friend I never before heard off²⁹; if Thee have not time, please to take the Book to friend Bradford, there are many excellent pieces in itt, if hee please may keep itt some time; I am now reading another of ancient time in itt is a Dispute by that Brite Lovely Youth James Parnel with an old priest called a Dr of Divinity w^{ch} I am reading I had a nouble Collection of these choice old Books left me by my Honour'd Grand Mother I have given many of y^m to my worthy ffriends in America Ireland and else where; I am Thy Loveing Neighbour,

JO^N ABRAHAM.

This letter is written on a piece of paper 5½ ins. by 4½ ins.; it is addressed: "To my Loving ffriend Jane Rouse."

²⁹ Richard Hodden's book is entitled: *The One Good Way of God: contrary to the many different ways of Mens making*. It contains fifty-four pages of small type. The author divides his matter into eighteen sections, of which some are: Epistle of Adam, Worldlings, Zealots, Faith in fleshly feeling, Prayer, Conversion. It appears to be a Bristol production. Of the author little or nothing is known.

XLIX

JOHN ABRAHAM TO THOMAS ABRAHAM, 1747

Manchest^r 17th 2^{mo} 1747.Son Tomy³⁰

£32 9

Pay to Isaac Crewdson of
Manchester or order Thirty
Two pounds and Nine Shilling
upon y^e 24th Day of June
next for value Receiv'd with
or without Advice

ffrom Thy Affectionate ffather
Jo^N ABRAHAM.

To Thomas Abraham
Merch^t in Whitehaven
Cumberland.

L

Three quarto pages of cooking recipes—Sagoe Pudding, Rice Pudding, Apple Pudding and Orange Pudding. E. C. Abraham states that the handwriting is that of Sarah (Foster) Abraham (1701-1777), wife of John Abraham. Final sheet only.

you must take off y^e scum from y^e top, as well as leave y^e dross at y^e bottom; to these 2 Quarts of strong Jelly you may put a Pinte of Rhenish, & a Quartor of a pint of Canary; beait up y^e whites of 5 Eggs to a froth; stir all to geather with sugar, to make it very sweet; mix it well; & sat it on y^e fire, & stir it till it melts & curdles; then put in Juice of 5 large Lemons, & a bit of y^e peel; let this boil up, then pour it throw your Jelly bag & pass y^e first Quart or two over & over again, 'till tis perfectly clear.

A Sagoe Pudding

Take half a pound of sagoe, & wash it well in 3 or 4 hot waters then put to it a Quarte of new milk, & let it

³⁰ Thomas Abraham was born at Swarthmoor Hall in 1723 and settled in business at Whitehaven. He married Ellen Clare (1729-1806) in 1749, and died at Penrith in 1778. There were twelve children, a quo Thirnbecks and Graces, Cockins and Millers, and Abrahams.

boil together, till thick as a hasty pudding stir it carefully for tis apt to burn; put in a stick of Cinnamon, when you set it on y^e fire, when tis boil'd, take it out: before you pour it out, stir in half a pound of Butter, beat 9 Eggs with four spoonfouls of sack leve out 4 whits, stir all to gether, sweeten it to your taste & put in a Quarter of a pound of plimpd Currants; lay a sheet of puff paste under & to garnish y^e Brim.

A Rice Pudding

Grind or beat half a pound of rice to flour; mix it, by degrees, with 3 pints of milk & thicken it over y^e fire with care, for fear of burning till tis like a hasty-pudding; when tis so thick, poure it out, & let it stand to cool; put to 9 Eggs (but half y^e whites) 3 or 4 spoonfuls of orange flower water: melt almost a pound of good Butter, and sweeten it to your taste. Add sweet meats if you Please.

An Apple Pudding to Bake very Good

Take 12 fare larga Pippins, caddle them over y^e fire very slowly, y^t they do not crack; when they are soft, peel & core them & pulp them through a Cullender: add to this 3 Spoonfuls of Orange flower water, 10 Eggs well beat, & strain'd half a Pound of very good Butter Melted: make it very sweet y^e Apples require it: add candyd Orange, Lemon or Citron Peel: but [?] put] a sheet of Puff paste into a Dish & pour in your Pudding; bake it with care: Tis done in half an Houre.

The best Orange Pudding y^t ever was testde

Pare y^e yellow rind of 2 fare Seville Oranges so very thin, y^t no Part of y^e white comes with it; shred & beat it extremely small in a large Stone Mortar; add to it when very fine, half a Pound of Butter half a pound of Sugar, & y^e yolks of 16 Eggs; beat all together in a Mortar till tis all of a Colour, then pour it into your Dish in which you have leid a sheet of puff paste. I think grating y^e Peel saves Trouble & does it finer & thinner, then you can shred or beat it; but you must beat up y^e Butter & Sugar with it, & y^e Eggs with all to mix them well.

LI

ESTIMATE OF VALUE OF PART OF SWARTHMOOR ESTATE,
1746

Endorsed: "Jⁿo Ab^{ms} Estimate of value of Part of Swarthmoore Estate 13 June 1746."

LII

A Draft of the Part of Swarthmoor hall Estate Bought for Cap^t James Lindow.

A rough plan with various measurements.

LIII

Queries Proposed upon the Act against Conventicles
22 Chas. II. chap. i. (1670)

There are here twenty queries and answers, filling four pages of a folio sheet. The first query and its answer run thus:

1st Whether a Justice of peace Can Legally Convict a pson as a hearer, or as a pson being p^sent, at a Religious assembly as is mentioned in y^e said Act without y^e pson being p^sent, or summoned to appear, before such a Justice, to answer for himselfe, as in all other tryalls of Convictions is provided.

1st I Conceive Clearly y^t y^e Justice of peace Cannott Legally Convict any pson of y^t offence wthout such sūmons, because our Comon Law y^e Civill Law, & y^e Law of Nature, requires it of necessity in order to y^e Judgeing Rightly, w^{ch} noe Justice Can be sure to doe, without itt; & if he should happen to Judge Rightly, yet is not he Just who gave y^e Judgem^t, y^e Rule of Law being this *qui statuit aliquid pte in Audita altera licett æquum statuerit haud æquus est*; ³¹ besides y^e Act it selfe doth Imply itt,

³¹ That is, "he who has judged anything, when one party is unheard, although he have judged aright, yet is not right."

in Regard it appoints y^e Conviction to be by Confession or profe, & y^t must be before y^e Justice, & y^t way assayed before profes, w^{ch} is also not to bee, till after y^e matter of fact be denied.

No. 16 onward is in another handwriting. The sheet is signed: "Tho: Corbett."³²

Friends in Radnorsbire

IN the *Inventory* for this county, issued by the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire, are the following references to Friends' Meeting Houses and Burial Grounds, visited for the Commission by its Assistant Inspecting Officer, George Eyre Evans.

BURYING GROUND, parish of NEWCHURCH
(6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Rad. 33, N.E.; lat. 52° 8' 29";
long. 3° 10' 18".)

A corner of the field adjoining the farmstead of Llanoley is known to have been used as a burial ground by the Society of Friends, and the limits of the small plot, 16 yards by 10 yards, are still traceable. In the boyhood of the present owner of the farm one of the graves was clearly outlined in the soil. The small patch of ground is not railed off from the rest of the field.— Visited 7th March, 1913.

THE PALES: Friends' Meeting House, parish of
LLANDEGLEY.
(6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Rad. 23, N.E.; lat. 52° 16' 3";
long. 3° 15' 48".)

A Meeting House of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, which is probably unique in the Principality

³² Thomas Corbett was the counsel who acted for Friends on various occasions. See *Camb. Jnl.*

as remaining much as it was when erected in the first half of the eighteenth century. The building, being situated on the side of a hill, has pleasant prospects, and is well lighted from the south by several windows, which have been modernised. The Meeting House is constructed of stone, is of only one storey in height, and is thatched with straw. Midway in the south front is the porch, admitting into a single chamber, 40 feet by 20 feet, and divided into two equal spaces by an open wooden partition, one side being given up to a school, which has probably always been attached to the Meeting House, the other devoted to the religious service. The walls are whitewashed, the floor partly of oak boards and partly of stone slabs, the benches, desks, low gallery and bookshelves are of oak and severely plain. The Elders' bench is placed against the east wall, and runs the entire depth of the building. It doubtless represents the original arrangement, and some of the benches are coeval with the establishment of worship here. One of the doors bears the date 1745. The earliest headstone in the little Burial Ground is of the year 1838, prior interments having no memorials. The attached cottage is of comparatively recent date.—Visited 27th July, 1911.

[Facing this account in the *Inventory* are two choice illustrations of the exterior and interior of the Meeting House, from photographs taken on the day of visitation by H. C. Jones.]

SUMMER HOUSE, parish of WALTON and WOMASTON
(6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Rad. 25, S.W. ; lat. $52^{\circ} 13' 52''$;
long. $3^{\circ} 5' 21''$.)

A small square summer-house, brick-built and tiled, standing on Court Farm, and adjoining the high road close to the village of Walton. It is traditionally stated to have been used for occasional worship by the Society of Friends, and that the poet Wordsworth, when visiting at Court Farm, attended service within it. The little building is fast falling into decay. Within living memory a small day school was kept by Friends in an adjoining cottage.—Visited 14th March, 1913.

William Miller of Edinburgh

(d. circa 1799)

From *The London Chronicle*, Sept. 3-5, 1778. p. 229.

To the Printer of the London Chronicle.

Sir,

Edinburgh, Aug. 24.

As your paper is frequently a very consolatory relief to me when the mind requires entertainment, I wish much to contribute a little to so useful a miscellany, pleasing myself with the idea that others of your readers may have the same satisfaction over a dish of Coffee or Tea in perusing what I send, as I have in perusing other passages of the *London Chronicle*.

I am myself not rigidly attached to any sect of Christians, and therefore I can relish what is good in all of them, whether in solemnity of ceremony or simplicity of soul.

I always read with pleasure in your Chronicle the Yearly Epistle of the people called Quakers, for there is in that sect of Christians a gentleness of disposition, and at least a belief of an immediate communication with the Divinity, which all Christians would wish to have when they have a near view of death, and which composes the mind to the most agreeable complacency.

In this city the number of people called Quakers is very small, but there is amongst them a most respectable man, Mr. Miller, who is possessed of considerable property, and who lives upon a beautiful piece of ground at the back of the Cannongate near to the Abbey of Holyroodhouse. There is a quaker meetinghouse about the middle of the old town of Edinburgh, but Mr. Miller has lately built a handsome plain small one opposite to his own dwelling house, and within a few yards of it.

Into this place of worship I went a few Sundays ago with intention to have been present at the meeting, but

there was none there that forenoon. So I employed a few minutes of solitude in calm and pious meditation, and had full leisure to observe every part of the room.

I found the panes of glass in the window to the south very prettily ornamented with pots of flowers cut upon them with a diamond, and upon one of the middle panes I found the following inscription:¹

I took a copy of these lines in my pocket-book and send them to you with a kindly wish that they may have the same agreeable effect upon others of your readers as they have had upon

AN OLD FRIEND.

The above has been sent by J. J. Green. William F. Miller adds the following note :

The "Mr. Miller" above alluded to was William Miller of Craigentinny (1722-1799?), the third Friend of that name in succession at Edinburgh. For many years he was Minister, ruling Elder, Overseer and Treasurer of the little remnant of Friends in that city, and was popularly known as "The King of the Quakers." The "plain small house" was no doubt built for business purposes—he had an extensive connection as nurseryman and seedsman—though one of the rooms was employed as a meeting-place.

It seems to have been W. M.'s custom to depute his clerk, David Notman, who was not even a member of the Society, to sit at the head of the First-day Morning Meeting, at the regular Meeting House in the city, which he himself never attended, whilst in the afternoon he ministered in *propria persona* to the meeting held in the "plain small house" at the foot of the Horse Wynd, Canongate. From refreshments being bountifully provided for the worshippers, the gatherings came to be called in scorn by those who did not participate in them—"bread and cheese meetings." William Miller stuck very obstinately to the arrangement, in spite of much labour bestowed upon him after the revival which took place amongst Friends in Scotland (1780-1785), and he was

¹ For this inscription see this volume of THE JOURNAL, p. 22n.

finally disowned because he would not give up "separate meetings."

The last years of his life were spent at Eagle House, Tottenham. Our friend Josiah Forster described him as having a "hard, red face," shaded by a well-curled brown wig and cocked hat, his person being clothed in a claret-coloured suit. He attended Tottenham Meeting regularly, walking up "panting and bahing," probably from asthma, to his seat on the top form facing the gallery.

The Friend and the Robber

In 1863, Joseph Elkinton and Joseph Scattergood, of Philadelphia, called on the Provost Marshal respecting the drafting of Friends for the Army. The officer said, among other things, "I am opposed to war myself, but if a man were to go into your house and cut your throat, would you resist him? Be sure you would." J. E. replied, "Sometime since, the house of a wealthy Friend was entered in the night; the robber aroused the Friend and told him if he did not get up and show him where his money was, he would kill him. The Friend sat up, and after a little thought said, 'I shall do no such thing; I will not be accessory to thy wickedness, and if it be permitted for thee to take my life, I shall die happy.' The robber concluded he would not kill such a man, and left him."

Joseph S. Elkinton, 1913, p. 41.

You that are poor, murmur not, but be patient, and trust in the Lord and submit to his Providence, and he will provide for you that which is convenient for you, the days of your appointed time.

And you that are rich, keep in moderation and strive not to multiply earthly treasure nor to heap up uncertain riches to your selves; but what God hath given you more than what is convenient for your own use, wait for his wisdom to employ it for his glory; that you may be faithful stewards of this worlds Mammon and the Lord God shall reward you into your bosoms, of the riches of that Kingdom that shall never have an end.

WILLIAM PENN, *To the Churches of Jesus throughout the World, 1677,*
p. 8.

Christ will not have one coward in his spiritual army.

WILLIAM PENN, *Saul smitten to the Ground . . . Matthew Hide, 1675, p. 15.*

George iv. and Thomas Shillitoe

THREE of the first four Georges had some special relations with one or more Friends. George I. was on very friendly terms with his watch-maker, Daniel Quare,¹ who was allowed special access to him "at the Back Stairs." Of George II. I can find nothing beyond the usual addresses presented on his accession, etc.² George III. is associated with his visit to David Barclay,³ also with the name of Hannah Lightfoot (as is exhaustively set forth in *The Fair Quaker, Hannah Lightfoot*, by Mary L. Pendered⁴), and, later in life, with his visit from Thomas Shillitoe⁵ and his friendship for Benjamin West.⁶ In the case of George IV. we have a variety of incidents, related by Thomas Shillitoe, for some of which there are considerable details available. Taking them in their chronological order, we begin with an address presented to him (when Prince Regent) on a visit to Brighton in 1813.⁷ This address, dated the 6th of Eighth Month, is considerably longer than an average Yearly Meeting Epistle, and deals with the Prince's shortcomings in a way in which it is not usual to address Royalty.

I quote three of its paragraphs :

I believe, never has the report gone abroad and reached my ear of thy grand entertainments being about to take place, but my poor mind has felt sorrow on thy account ; and in spirit I have been with thee as a mournful spectator at the banquet. . . .

Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting. Thy ways are not right before God, for he cannot behold iniquity in princes, any more than in their people, with approbation or any degree of allowance ; and be assured, if there is not a timely putting away from before

¹ *F.Q.E.*, 1900, p. 40.

² See *Addresses to Royalty*, by J. J. Green, 1901, p. 45.

³ *ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴ Published by Hurst and Blackett, 1910.

⁵ See his *Journal*, i. 12. Thomas Shillitoe (1754-1836) was a remarkable man and preacher. Though only of moderate education and nervous to an extreme, he was enabled by Divine power to stand before princes and to travel extensively in both hemispheres in the work of the Gospel ministry.

⁶ *Ency. Brit.* Ed. xi., xxviii., 535.

⁷ *Journal*, i. 197.

the eyes of the Lord and the eyes of the people (that great family over whom thou art placed) the evil of thy doings,—if there is not a ceasing to do evil, and learning to do well,—the eternal crown designed for thee to wear in Christ's kingdom will be irrecoverably lost. . . .

And what is the greatest among men, when left to himself, and bereft of the assistance of his Maker? When laid upon a death-bed, what can the prayers of others avail thee, if He who alone can save—He, whose offers of help in time of health have been slighted, then refuses to hear? Just and equal are the ways of the Lord: if we suffer the day of our visitation to pass over unimproved, the determination will stand, when they call, I will not answer.

Thomas Shillitoe states that he felt it his duty to present this address in person and the circumstances surrounding the preparation and presentation of it are interesting. Again quoting from the *Journal* at some length:

After passing two exercising weeks since the close of the yearly meeting, way opened for me to spread before the Morning Meeting a prospect of duty I had to obtain an interview with those in power who had the welfare of Ireland at heart, and to make a visit to the Prince Regent. After the meeting had been exercised with the subject, a few Friends were selected to have a further opportunity with me, but they not feeling themselves competent to give a judgment, again called together the select members, who left me at liberty to pursue my religious prospects as truth opened my way. . . .

After being left to myself, it appeared my only safety was in endeavouring to aim at a resigned state of mind as to any further openings respecting the Prince Regent.

He then states that he proceeded to Brighton and met a few friends.

Fifth-day, attended the usual week-day meeting; at the close of which information was received that the prince was out riding, and would return about four in the afternoon; but it did not appear to me to be the time for me to move, I therefore kept pretty close to my quarters, and passed a tranquil afternoon. After passing a sleepless night, towards morning it appeared that it would be proper for me to hold myself in readiness this day to get relieved from my burden. During the time of breakfast, our minds were much disposed for silence, and after it was over a precious pause ensued. My kind friend Mary Rickman was engaged to supplicate, in a way that afforded strength to my feeble, emptied, tried mind.

I now felt it laid upon me, to request my Friends who had enlisted in the service, to be on the alert, and obtain information if the prince rode out this morning; and if so, the time and road he would be likely to take: the road not being ascertained, and he mostly taking his ride

over the Downs, accompanied by Thomas Willis, of London, William Turner and Isaac Bass, of Brighton, we proceeded towards the palace, and stationed ourselves on the east side of the stable-yard gate opening towards the Downs. After waiting some time, the gates were thrown open: the prince, with a great attendance of his nobles, made their appearance; but, to my great disappointment, they took the opposite road. Placed in this trying situation I paused, and found it would be unsafe for me to neglect the present opportunity; time not admitting of consulting my friends, I proceeded up the hill with speed, being favoured to feel the best of supporters with me; my companions, as they afterwards acknowledged, were not able to keep pace with me, for I scarcely felt the ground as I passed over it. The hill being very steep, and the exertion great, my breath was so affected when I came abreast of the prince that I was unequal to utter a word, I therefore pushed on some way before him (in order to recover my breath) my Divine Master giving me hind's feet; I then halted, until the prince came up to me, when I addressed him nearly as follows:—

“Will the prince be pleased to permit me to express a few words to him”; on which he checked his horse, and stooping forward, replied, “Sir, you must excuse me, I am in haste:” to which I replied, “I have a letter for the prince, will he be pleased to permit me to present him with it,” taking it out of my breast-pocket. He replied, “You will please give it to Col. Bloomfield”; who accordingly took charge of it. On which I found that my work was not complete until I had requested (of the Colonel) that care should be taken the prince had the letter, and that it was read: being assured this should be the case, this exercise of faith and patience peacefully ended.

From his mention of Fifth Day and that the address was presented the following one, that date proves to be the 11th of August.

From *The Times* of August 13th it appears that on the 11th the Prince rode on the Downs instead of on the Steine as usual, which corroborates Thomas Shillitoe's statement about the hill. He proceeds:

The day after the delivery of this letter was expected to be a day of great festivity at Brighton, to celebrate the birthday of one of the royal family, for which preparations had been made, which brought much company to the town in the morning; but this not being the case, the newspapers announced the disappointment the public had experienced, without any reason being assigned for it. From the feelings into which my mind was introduced during the evening, and the disappointment the public had thus met with, no doubt was left with me but that my request to have the letter read had been complied with.

The Times states, however, that the Prince left Brighton on the 11th, and not the day after the presentation of the address.

Eleven years later, when the Prince had become George IV., Thomas Shillitoe had another interview with him.⁸ This time it was at Windsor, where he presented an address on the neglect of the Sabbath in Hanover. There are no references in this address of a personal nature. The interview is worth quoting :

I went on Third-day, 20th of Fourth-month, 1824, accompanied by my kind friend, Peter Bedford, to Windsor. On being informed the king was going from the castle to the lodge : we proceeded to the long-walk in the great park ; and earnest was my solicitude to be enabled to discharge this act of apprehended duty in a way that would, on a retrospect, afford relief to my own mind.

We at length perceived the king coming in his poney-chaise down the long walk ; when he came nearly abreast of us, we advanced a little towards the middle of the road ; I had the packet in my hand, containing the German copy of the act of the king and council, the same translated, and my address on some subjects which it contained. The king stopped his horses, and we approached the carriage. On my asking the king, in a respectful manner, if I might be permitted to present him with a packet, he replied, " Yes, Friend, you may."

Several years having elapsed since I had had an interview with him at Brighton, and the king having lost much of that florid countenance he then had, also appearing aged, and being wrapped up in a loose drab great-coat, instead of an uniform, which he wore on the former occasion, some hesitation arose in my mind lest I should be mistaken, and it should not be the king. I therefore, looking up at him, inquired, " But is it the king ? " to which he replied, " Yes, Friend ; I am the king : give it to the Marquis of Conyngham," who received it with a smile ; on which the king said, " Now you have handed it to me." After a short communication which I had to make to the king, he said, " I thank you." We then acknowledged his condescension, withdrew from the carriage, and returned to London with grateful hearts.

We now come to the Yearly Meeting of 1830. In the Friends Historical Society's *Journal* (ix. 173), Thomas Davidson of Fritchley writes :

A year or two before our Friend Ann Hunt of Bristol passed away, I called on her and among other interesting reminiscences she told me that she first attended Yearly Meeting in 1830, and that during one of the sittings the Duchess of Gloucester drove down to Devonshire House and had William Allen and Elizabeth Fry called out, and informed them that the king being in great extremity both in mind and body desired the prayers of Friends. This request was communicated to both the Men's and Women's Meetings, and the business being suspended, each meeting became a Meeting for Worship during the rest of the sitting. Friends were requested not to speak of it out of meeting.

⁸ *Journal*, ii. 2.

There is no record of this interview in the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting, but amongst extant private records of this Y.M. there are at least two which make reference to the King's illness:

(i.) Extracts from the manuscript journal of Benjamin Grubb, of Clonmel (1805-1858):⁹

27. 5mo. The present state of our king's health was feelingly alluded to by different Friends and a hope was entertained and expressed that his end might be peaceful. He appeared to have been a lover of peace.

28. 5mo. It was proposed at this sitting that a minute should be made expressive of the feeling of the meeting on behalf of the king, but it was not agreed to.

(ii.) a manuscript account¹⁰ of the Meeting by Richard Cockin (1753-1845), in which he says:

In the early part of this sitting (5th day afternoon) J. J. Gurney adverted to the illness of the king which appeared to bring some weight over the meeting.

I have been in communication with relatives of William Allen who had access to his papers and to others who were living in 1830, but cannot get any further information. A sidelight, however, is thrown upon events at this time by a slight reference in the *Memoirs of Elizabeth Fry* (vol. ii. p. 110), where she records, shortly after the Yearly Meeting of 1830: "I lately paid an interesting visit to the Duchess of Gloucester."¹¹

Finally we come to the Death Bed Scene, which occurred one month after the Yearly Meeting. One version or other of it is well known amongst the older generation of Friends. William Tallack's life of Thomas Shillitoe refers to it (p. 111).

But it has been said, that when that monarch was on his death-bed, he called out, "Oh, that Quaker! that Quaker!" probably as if oppressed with a deep sense of despair and remorse at his inattention to the counsels which his faithful and godly subject had long ago urged upon his attention.

A few years ago the incident was also referred to in *The Westminster Gazette*.

⁹ In the possession of J. Ernest Grubb, of Carrick-on-Suir.

¹⁰ In D. recently presented by William F. Miller.

¹¹ (1776-1857) sister of George IV.

There is no record of this interview in the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting, but amongst extant private records of this Y. M. there are at least two which make reference to the King's illness:

(i) Extracts from the manuscript journal of Benjamin Grubb, of Clonmel (1802-1832).

27. 5mo. The present state of our King's health was feelingly alluded to by different Friends and a hope was entertained and expressed that his end might be peaceful. He appeared to have been a lover of peace.

28. 5mo. It was proposed at this sitting that a minute should be made expressive of the feeling of the meeting on behalf of the King, but it was not agreed to.

(ii) a manuscript account of the Meeting by Richard Cochin (1753-1845), in which he says:

In the early part of this sitting (5th day afternoon) J. J. Gurney alluded to the illness of the King which appeared to bring some weight over the meeting.

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But it has been said, that when that monarch was on his death-bed he called out, "Oh, that Quaker! that Quaker!" probably as an expression of deep sorrow and remorse at his inattention to the Quakers, which his faithful and godly subject had long ago urged upon his attention.

A few years ago the incident was also related to in The Westminster Gazette.

* In the possession of J. Ernest Grubb, of Lanchester-on-Tyne.
 ** In it, recently presented by William F. Miller.
 † (1756-1832) sister of George IV.

When on the Nile in 1909 I met a great-grandson of Thomas Shillitoe (since deceased). I repeated to him the version I had heard, viz., that the Archbishop of Canterbury, approaching the King, informed him that his end was near, and that he wished to offer the consolations of the Church. The King's reply was, "Send for that little Quaker, he is the only one who ever told me the Truth." Mr. Shillitoe said he heard a similar account, and that this interview was a most treasured memory in the family. I regret that I had no opportunity of submitting the above account to Mr. Shillitoe, prior to his death in 1912.

I have since seen his brother, Dr. Arthur Shillitoe, who lives in Old Jewry, and who tells me that so far as he knows the family have no definite information on the subject, and that his father, who is eighty-eight, is too old to be asked about it.

Mary S. Whiting writes me that her father, the late John Whiting, of Leeds (whose mother was T. S.'s daughter), was present when T. S. heard of George IV.'s death, and that he walked up and down the room at Hitchin, where he lived, in an agony of grief.

FRANCIS C. CLAYTON.

Birmingham.

Patriotism

It is well to remember, especially at such a time as this, that they also serve who only stand and wait, and that a member, say, of the "Religious Society of Friends" may be as good a patriot as an Admiral or a Field Marshal.

R. M. LEONARD, Prefatory Note to *Patriotic Poems*, Oxford University Press, 1914.

BAPTISMS.—At Stradishall, co. Suffolk. 1706/7 Mar. 19. Robert, an adult son of John Stamers, Quaker, bapt.

1707. Oct. 5. Thomas and Mary, an adult son and daughter of John Stamers, bapt.

Stockton Meeting House, 1814-1914

JN 1814, in the reign of George the Third—the king on whose “pageant, pride, grief, and awful tragedy” Thackeray let the dark curtain fall, and in the regency of the then Prince of Wales—a “solitary, stout man, who did not toil, nor spin, nor fight”—in 1814, in the time of Shute Barrington, Bishop and Count Palatine of Durham; and in the Mayoralty at Stockton of George Sutton, the Friends' Meeting House was built. Here is the record in Thomas Richmond's *Local Records of Stockton*:

“September 15.—The new Meeting House of the Society of Friends, in Mill Lane (though not finished) was opened this day for worship. It will seat above 200 persons; cost about £1,800. The Burial Ground contains 17 roods.”

There was an earlier Meeting House, dating far back in the history of the Society. In a map of Stockton for 1724 the older Meeting House is shown, blocking the end of “Dove Cote Lane.” When in 1814 the new one was built, the old one was converted into cottages, and afterwards passed out of record. On the 15th of Fifth Month, 1814, Stockton Meeting “called in” £200 then lent on mortgage, “to go in aid of building the new Meeting House.”

Quakers in those days took little note of the changes in buildings they used, so it is not surprising that there is not in the Monthly or Preparative Meeting books any record of the first use of the new Meeting House. But Stockton Preparative Meeting records in Twelfth Month, 1814, that it appoints a Committee to

“consider of a plan for altering the old meeting house into suitable dwellings, and carrying the same into effect, viz.,—George Coates, Henry Richardson, Benjamin Atkinson, Benj. Atkinson, jun., John Procter, Aaron Richardson, John Atkinson, Isaac Stephenson, and Samuel Stephenson.”

A few months later Trustees were appointed for “two new dwelling houses, late the old meeting house,” and these trustees included John Procter, Isaac Stephenson, George Smith, John Procter, jun., George Coates, S.^r Chipchase, and George Coates, jun.

The new Meeting House was opened on the 15th of Ninth Month, 1814, as stated. In the same month, George Sanders, William Alexander, Isaac Crewdson, and Isaac Wilson visited Stockton, a Committee of the Yearly Meeting.

What was Stockton Meeting like in 1814? It was part of Stockton Monthly Meeting, the other Meetings being Darlington and Yarn. At the first Monthly Meeting held in the new Meeting House in Ninth Month, 1814, the representatives were: from Darlington—Joseph Pease,² and Jonathan Backhouse, jun.; from Stockton—John Atkinson

¹ The name-initial resembles S, but possibly it is J= John Chipchase.

² Joseph Pease, of Feethams, uncle of Joseph Pease, the first Quaker M.P.

and John Procter; and from Yarm—Cuthbert Wigham and Joseph Flounders. The Clerks of Stockton Monthly Meeting in 1814 were Jonathan Backhouse, jun., and Cuthbert Wigham, assistant. Stockton Monthly Meeting contributed to Durham Quarterly Meeting in that year £16 18s. od.—from Darlington, Stockton, and Yarm. The Quarterly Meeting Clerks were Thomas Robson and Robert Spence, assistant. There were eleven representatives to the Quarterly Meeting in Seventh Month, 1814, from three Monthly Meetings: Newcastle—David Sutton, John Mounsey, William Richardson, and Joseph Taylor; Stockton—Edward Backhouse, John Spence, Henry Richardson, and John Atkinson; and Staindrop—George Hall, William Coates, and Joshua Ianson.

At Stockton Monthly Meeting, held at Darlington, 18th of Tenth Month, Isaac Stephenson brought forward a concern to visit Staindrop Monthly Meeting and the west of the county. He was a "minister in unity and good esteem," and probably his visit helped forward a movement for union. A conference of committees of Stockton and Staindrop Monthly Meetings was held, to consider a recommendation from the Quarterly Meeting for the union of the two Monthly Meetings. At first Staindrop did not "at present apprehend it expedient to unite with Stockton"; but later other opinions ruled, and the two Meetings united and became *Darlington* Monthly Meeting about 1820. The Quarterly Meeting,—which had for scores of years been held in Durham city, began to "circulate," at the suggestion of David Sams, and from 1816 to 1826 several Quarterly Meetings were held in Stockton. In 1825, Newcastle Friends had an exciting visit to the Quarterly Meeting at Stockton. They came by sea from Shields to the Tees, taking ten hours for the voyage; and in returning two days later, they only got to Hartlepool by the steamer,—the rest of the journey being in a carriage, in "fish carts," and on foot. John Richardson,³ of Spring Gardens, Newcastle, tells the story in a letter copied in *The Society of Friends, Newcastle*.⁴

Exact numbers of members are difficult to give for a century ago. But a little later we have definite figures. The membership in 1836 for the old Stockton Monthly Meeting was—in Stockton 89; in Darlington 139; Now, nearly eighty years later, the latest numbers are—Stockton, 118; Norton 38; Darlington, 315.

In the century, Stockton has increased its population from 4,229 in 1811 to 52,158 in 1911; and Darlington from 5,059 in 1811 to 55,633 in 1911. Contrast, then and now, could be indefinitely pursued, for Stockton then began running coaches (to Whitby, "fare 20s. od."), projecting canals or railways, and Volunteers against invasion by Bonaparte wore pigtails and used hair powder.

JOHN W. STEEL.

Darlington.

³ Father of David, James, and Henry Richardson.

⁴ *Historical Sketch of the Society of Friends in Newcastle and Gateshead, 1653-1898*, by John William Steel, et al., 1899, p. 93.

Friends in Current Literature

A CONSIDERABLE addition to family history has recently appeared in America, viz., *History and Genealogy of the Cock-Cocks-Cox Family*, descended from James and Sarah Cock, of Killingworth upon Matinecock, in the Township of Oysterbay, Long Island, New York, compiled by George William Cocks, assisted by John Cox, Jr. (New York: Privately printed, 9½ by 6½, pp. xii. + 415, \$5.00, with numerous portraits and pictures and full index). A Supplement to the second edition contains a chapter entitled "Our Quaker Ancestors," in which appear the patronymics Carpenter, Coles, Townsend, Underhill, Weeks, Howland, Dickinson. John Cox, Jr., of New York City (portrait at p. 233), is a Friend of the Hicksite branch.

There is a good *resumé* of the history and work of Friends in *The Protestant Churches, Their History and Beliefs*, by Leslie F. Church, B.A., F.R.Hist.S., in C. H. Kelly's "Manuals for Christian Thinkers" (London: Kelly, 7 by 4½, pp. 176, 1s. net).

Another series of Woodbrooke addresses, by Dr. Rendel Harris, has been published by Headley Brothers, under the title, *The Sufferings and the Glory* (7½ by 5, pp. 164, 2s. 6d. net).

Our Friend, Hugh Richardson, M.A., of Bootham School, York, is the General Editor of The Cambridge Nature Study Series, and under his direction Ernest E. Unwin, M.Sc., has prepared a little volume on *Pond Problems* (Cambridge University Press, 8 by 5½, pp. 119). E. E. Unwin is science master at Leighton Park School, Reading, and has held the same position at Ackworth and York. Some of the illustrations are reminiscent of nature study at Ackworth and Leighton Park.

In the *Derbyshire Courier*, Chesterfield, there have appeared several valuable articles on "the Quakers in Chesterfield," commencing July 11.

The Epistle from London Y.M. to that of Dublin appeared in *The Limerick Chronicle* of July 23.

There is a good account of the life and work of Elizabeth Fry in *My Children's Magazine*, for September, edited by Arthur Mee (Fleetway House, Farringdon Street, London, price 7d.). It is under the heading: "A Brave Woman of England."

* The books mentioned here are in D. and can be borrowed by Friends.

Alice Mary Hodgkin's book, *Christ in All the Scriptures*, has reached its fifth edition and twentieth thousand (London: Holness, pp. 249, 1s. 6d. net). There is a very favourable review in "The English Churchman" of 13 August.

An announcement was made some time ago that the MS. diaries of Robert and Sarah Lindsey had found a resting place in D. Prior to this, some volumes had been on loan at Haverford College, Pa. Extracts from these were sent West and have been printed in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, vol. xii., 1914, pp. 262-286, 394-439, with brief notes by Dr. Louis T. Jones (Iowa City, Ia.: State Historical Society, 50 cents a number, quarterly; subscription price, \$2.00). The first set of extracts covers the journey of Robert Lindsey and Benjamin Seebohm in 1850, and the second, Robert and Sarah Lindsey in 1858.

A complete set of *The Iowa Journal* is in D., having arrived lately in exchange for the JOURNAL of the F.H.S.

In *The Postage Stamp*, for August 29, there is an article by Ralph Wedmore, son of Edmund T. Wedmore of Bristol, entitled, "The Cassel Exhibition and After," in which appear extracts, with comments, from the manifesto recently issued by the London Meeting for Sufferings.² The outbreak of war has endangered philatelic collections sent for this exhibition in Germany.

Various unfinished essays by the late Frederic Seebohm, LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt., have been collected together and edited by his son, Hugh E. Seebohm, under the heading: *Customary Acres and their Historical Importance* (London, etc.: Longmans, 9 by 6, pp. 274, 12s. 6d. net).

The Magazine of the Wesleyan Methodist Church (London), for September, contains a review, by the Editor, of the last Swarthmore Lecture, and a poetical allusion to the Friends' Burial Ground at Stanton Drew in Somersetshire. The latter is introduced by the words: "About a mile from Stanton Drew, beside the Bristol road, is a walled enclosure, the door of which bears this superscription, 'Friends' Burial Ground, 1669.'" There are little sketches of the door and surrounding wall.

Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, B.A., Chaplain of the Bethlem Hospital (occasional visitor in D.), has produced a fine work in his *Story of the Bethlehem Hospital from its Foundation in 1247* (London & Leipsic: T. Fisher Unwin, 9 by 6, pp. 427, 15s. net, with 100 illustrations). Seeing that the leasehold portion of Devonshire House, in Bishopsgate, has been in the possession of the Hospital since at least 1330 (the only

² That is, the address, issued in August, *To Men and Women of Goodwill in the British Empire*, of which over 300,000 have been distributed, and of which there have been various translations.

remaining property north of the Thames) and in the occupation of Friends since 1794, we expect to find valuable notices of our Headquarters, and we are not disappointed. This was known in early days as Staple Hall. In the mid-sixteenth century, the property (a cottage and garden) was tenanted by John Stryngfellow, and in the opening of the next century on the site was standing the "fair house built by Lord John Paulet" (Stow). On the City side of Staple Inn was the large area of the Dolphin Inn, which it is said was, in the thirteenth century, occupied by Louis, the Dauphin of France, when he came to prosecute the claims of his father to the throne of England. The Dolphin Inn of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries passed into the hands of Friends in 1792, and on the ground now stand the two large Meeting Houses.

There are also references to the work of Friends on behalf of the insane. Our Author refers incidentally to beating the bounds of this historic property with the Friends' Librarian, and then adds (p. 369) :

"I hope that Bethlehem Hospital will never break the last link which binds her to the home where she was born, but if the site of Staple Hall is ever to be sold or bartered, I hope that it may pass into the care of the Friends, from whom we and others learnt to treat the irrational as rational beings, and to overcome evil with good."

We are interested to notice that the works of John Smyth, early Baptist, are being printed by the Cambridge University Press "in the style of the edition of George Fox's Journal."

In the current part of the *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* (from which the above note is taken) there is a helpful paper by Sir W. J. Collins, M.D., on "Dutch Dissenters and English General Baptists."

Elizabeth J. Satterthwaite, Beckside, Hawkshead, Lancs., has brought out a volume entitled : *Records of the Friends' Burial Ground at Colthouse, near Hawkshead, Lancashire*, comprising the Registers of Burials from 1658, together with a History of the Ground and Sketches of some of the Families and Individuals connected therewith (pp. 90, 3s. 6d. net). I hope to refer to this book again.

Sir Thomas Barclay, in his *Thirty Years' Anglo-French Reminiscences* (1876-1906), refers to the part he took in 1904 in carrying on negotiations with the French Government on behalf of Friends' work in Madagascar, and inserts a letter of thanks for his assistance from Joseph G. Alexander (page 126).

NORMAN PENNEY.

Let thy gift be never so small ; thy testimony never so little ; through thy whole conversation bear it for God ; and be true to what thou art convinced of.

WILLIAM PENN, *To the Churches of Jesus throughout the World*, 1677, p. 7.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D.=The Reference Library of London Y.M., at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Camb. Jnl.=*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

GERSHON BOATE (xi. 117).—Further information respecting the Boate family has been received from Edith Webb, of Dublin, per J. Ernest Grubb. It is taken from the Register of Mountmellick Monthly Meeting:

"Gershon Boate, son of Gerrard and Katherine Boate, was borne in Crutchett ffryers in London in England, the 17th day of 8^{ber} in y^e yeare 1648 and was brought into Ireland by his s^d father and mother in y^e yeare 1649, whoe tooke to wife Mary the daughter of Abraham and Mary ffuller in a meeting of y^e people of y^e lord called Quakers in her s^d ffathers house at Lehinchy alias Trades hill in the Kings County in Ireland, on y^e 21st of y^e 12^{mo} called ffbruary in y^e yeare 1670."

[His daughter, Mary, was born in 1671, and the following year his wife died.]

"The above s^d Gershon Boate took to wife Rachell, the daughter of Adam and Evis Ball in the yeare 1676, in manner as he took his first above named wife, w^{ch} s^d Rachell bare him one Child, viz. Gershon a son borne at Borrisileagh in the county of Typerary on y^e fourth day of y^e fifth month called July, 1678."

[A few days later Rachel Boate died. In 1682 Gershon Boate married Susannah Bennett. They had several children.]

The third Gershon Boate was born in 1701 and died in 1773. There was a fourth Gershon Boate born in 1731, but he lived only about three weeks.

Extract from Marriage Certificate of Gershon Boate and Rachel Ball:

"A meeting was particularly appointed at Tobias Pladwells house in mountmellick upon the 22th day of y^e 9^{ber} 1676 They being contracted the s^d parties tooke each other as man and wife publicquely in the presence of God & his people the sayd Gershon Boate sayeing these words I take Rachell Ball to be my wife and the sayd Rachell Ball sayeing these words I take Gershon Boate to be my husband and for a further testimony that they will live in love and faithfullnesse as man and wife untill death separates them according to the ordinance of God and the practice of his people recorded in the scriptures of truth they have both hereunto sett theire names.

GERSHON BOATE.
RACHELL BOATE."

THE ASHBRIDGE FAMILY OF AMERICA (xi. 138).—Referring to the interesting article upon this family, the *Clovercroft Chronicles* state that the immigrant Ash-

bridge ancestor hailed from Yorkshire. It would seem probable that he came from the district of Roos in Holderness, where was a colony of the name, of whom an ancestress of my own, Elizabeth Ashbridge, married as her first husband (and as his second wife), in 1658, William Billany (or Bellamy), of Roos, by whom she had a son and four daughters apparently, three of whom, with their mother, joining the Society of Friends by 1671. William Billany was buried in Roos churchyard in 1668, and Elizabeth Billany, formerly Ashbridge, married secondly at Friends' Meeting House, Owstwick in Roos, in 1671, John Maire of Roos, the ancestor of Stephensons, Rowntrees, Robsons, Brayshaws, Greens and many other Quaker families.

Roos indeed was the residence of a large number of Quaker families, as was the East Riding generally, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.—JOSEPH J. GREEN.

AUTHOR WANTED.—“I knew Jesus and he was precious to my soul, but I found something within that would not be sweet, that would not be patient, that would not be kind. I did what I could to keep it down but it was there. I besought Jesus to do something for me, and when I gave Him my will, He came in and took out all that would not be sweet and patient and kind, and shut the door.”

It has been stated that George Fox was the author, and Dorothy M. Richardson, compiler of the recently published *Gleanings from*

the Works of George Fox,¹ has been consulted on this point. She writes:

“My own feeling about it is that the very utmost that can be said about it as a whole is that it might just *conceivably* have come from the pen of Fox. The ‘style’ from the words ‘I found’ to ‘it was there’ is, I think, typically Foxian, and that vivid little touch at the end, ‘and shut the door,’ recalls him. But the remainder of the passage does not commend itself to me as authentic either in matter or in manner.”

QUAKER F.R.S.—The name of Arthur Stanley Eddington (b. 1882) Plumian Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge, must now be added to those of Friends mentioned in THE JOURNAL, vii.

FRIENDS' SCHOOL AT SWARTHMORE, PA.—Some particulars respecting this new forward movement of the General Conference Advancement Committee of Philadelphia Y.M. (Race Street), have reached us. Suitable premises have been taken near the College. The Institution is to be called “Friends' School for Social and Religious Education, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.” It will be “deeply concerned in the presentation of the Friendly message, as it is believed it will meet the moral and spiritual needs of our intelligent and inquiring twentieth century life.” The opening is expected in First Month, 1915.

In connection with the above, we have to record the death of

¹ Headley Brothers, London, rs. and 2s.

Henry W. Wilbur, Secretary of Friends' Advancement Committee, Philadelphia, who died suddenly during the sessions of a Conference of the seven Hicksite Yearly Meetings at Saratoga, N.Y., 5th of Eighth Month.

"QUAKER WOMEN." — On behalf of our readers and ourselves we are anticipating with great interest the issue of a comprehensive work on *Quaker Women* by Mabel R. Brailsford, to be published about Christmas by Duckworth & Co., London. This book is the result of a close

and deep study of Quaker literature, presented in a very readable and trustworthy form.

"At the General Quarter Sessions for the western part of this county [Sussex], held on Tuesday [15 July, 1794], there was not a single appeal to be heard, and but one prisoner for trial, namely, Elizabeth Parker, for stealing a quart copper sauce pan, and she was discharged by proclamation, the principal evidence against her being a Quaker, and refusing to take an oath."—*Sussex Weekly Advertiser*.

Editor's Notes

Subscribers to this year's Supplement—"Elizabeth Hooton"—will receive their copies in the course of a month or so. Most of the matter is now in type. Subscription price, three shillings or seventy-five cents, is still open. After publication the price will be four shillings and sixpence, or one dollar and fifteen cents. Order from the Editor, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C., or of American Agents.

We hope that the twelfth volume of THE JOURNAL will begin with some more of W. F. Miller's extracts from Scottish minute books, and be followed by an article by Ella Kent Barnard, of Pa., on the originals of characters in Hawthorne's *House of the Seven Gables*; etc.

Louis T. Jones, Ph.D., of Iowa City, Ia., in the chapter, "The Minority Bodies of Friends in Iowa," in his recent work, *The Quakers of Iowa*, writes:

"On Sunday morning members of the Conservative body drive from the vicinity of Hickory Grove to their little Meeting in West Branch, and in turn members of the Wilburites drive some two miles from West Branch over the same road to their small Meeting at Hickory Grove, greeting each other kindly as they pass, but holding aloof from Union."

Elizabeth Pike and the Highwayman

SINCE the publication of this story on a previous page (page 85), a full version has come to hand, which is here given:

At the time when there was a run on the banks, Betsy Pike, sister of Joseph Pike, owner of Pike's Bank in Cork, undertook to convey a supply of gold from Dublin. At that time this was a dangerous undertaking on account of the highwaymen that infested the roads. She had two boxes of gold which she carefully hid under her seat in the coach. She retained a small sum of money in her pocket. One of her fellow travellers was a Cork gentleman of her acquaintance. After starting he told her he had some money concealed in his top-boots and also some ready to hand to the robbers, who were almost certain to attack the coach.

Passing over the Kilworth mountains the coach was stopped, and a highwayman demanded the money and watches of the passengers. He first accosted Betsy Pike, who handed him the sum she had ready in her pocket. When he demanded her watch, she hesitated, saying, "Ah, sure thee would not take my watch? It would not be of much value to thee (having a tortoise shell case), but is of great value to me as having belonged to my mother." However, he took it from her and turned to the Cork gentleman, who handed him the purse he had ready. The robber was not satisfied and demanded more, the gentleman protesting he had no more; whereupon Betsy Pike remonstrated with him and said, "Thee should not tell a lie: Thee told me thee had money hid in thee boots." The robber then insisted on getting this, and the gentleman reluctantly produced it. The robber being satisfied, turned to Betsy Pike and handed her back the watch saying, "You are so honest and think so much of the watch, you may have it back." Her companion upbraided her for betraying his secret. She merely repeated that he should not tell a lie.

On arriving at her brother's house with the gold she told him what she had done, and he sent an invitation to the gentleman to come to breakfast next morning, when they explained to him that it was in order to spare the larger amount she kept the robber's attention directed to him, and they then handed to him the amount of money he had lost through her.

When the bank opened, Joseph Pike had one butter firkin filled with sovereigns and a row of others filled with something else and the top covered with gold. When the farmers came in and asked for their deposits Joseph Pike, who had his coat off, and was apparently working very hard, said, "What will you have, boys—quick—notes or gold?" They said, "Gold," when he scooped up the gold, gave it, and got his

receipt. When several had been thus supplied, they told others who were waiting outside, "There seems plenty of gold here," and in the end they brought it back and relogged, and thus the bank was saved.

The lady who communicated the foregoing added, "While I write, the watch is here and I have it in my hand. It was left by Betsy Pike to Elizabeth Jackson, her step-great-niece, and who was called after her. After *her* death it passed into the possession of her brother, Thomas Jackson, of Belfast, who was my uncle. The date of the watch is 1747."

From THOMAS HENRY WEBB'S MS. *Collection of Quaker Stories.*

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Friends' Reference Library.

Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Belonging to London Yearly Meeting
of the Religious Society of Friends.

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Assistant Librarian:

M. ETHEL CRAWSHAW.

This Library was established in 1673 with the definite aim of collecting material connected with Friends. Dr. Thomas Hodgkin termed it "The British Museum of Quakerism."

There is no complete printed Catalogue, but it may be assumed that practically everything noted by Joseph Smith in his "Catalogue of Friends' Books," published in 1867, has a place. Books added subsequently are catalogued on the card system.

The great wealth of manuscript which has been accumulating for over two centuries is much sought after by students.

An interesting collection of curios is also under the care of the Librarian.

The Library is open for purposes of enquiry and research from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., Saturdays to 1 p.m.

Report for the Year 1913.

The Committee has pleasure in presenting the following brief report on the work done under its care during the year 1913.

Accessions.

Numerous remarkably interesting additions have been made to the Library (1) by purchase; (2) by presentation; and (3) by deposit.

(1) Purchase.

Modern books relating to Friends, issued in this and other countries, have been purchased, and some literature of older date has been added to the collection. In the latter class are the foreign works respecting Friends by Labadie (1672), Zentgraf (1684), Gude (1748), and Alberti (1750).

(2) Presentation.

From the library of the late Sir Joseph C. Dimsdale, original letters of George Fox, Francis Howgill, Ambrose Rigge, and others, presented by the Dowager Lady Dimsdale.

From A. E. and G. Manley, of Croydon, a bundle of marriage certificates (one dated 1672) and other papers.

From Charles Galleway, of Thorntondale, Yorkshire, MS. Journals of Robert and Sarah Lindsey commencing 1846.

From Lucy Yeardley, of Bristol, passport and other papers connected with John and Martha Yeardley.

From Ellen Clare Pearson, per William F. Miller, private accounts of the proceedings of London Yearly Meeting in 1789, and many after years to 1833, and other MSS.

From the family of the late Henry and Ann F. Fowler, letters and MSS. of Dr. John Rutt (d. 1775).

MSS. from Mary Ann Tanner, per Wilfrid Grace.

Books, papers, etc., written by Charles William Dymond, F.S.A., sent up by their Author.

The department of history has been augmented by gifts of "The Ashbridge Book," "Keese Family History," "Roberts Genealogy," "The Kirk Family," "Memoirs of John Wigham Richardson," and genealogical charts of the families of Storrs, Capper, Naish, Oddie, Crosfield, Darbyshire, Bancroft, etc.

The Committee notes with pleasure that it is becoming increasingly the custom for authors who write on Friendly subjects to present copies of their books to the Library.

(3) *Deposit.*

Dr. A. Midgley Cash, of Torquay, sent up on loan the valuable collection made by his grandfather, James Midgley, of Rochdale. Herein are:

Autograph letter from George Fox to his wife, *circa* 1674.

Memoranda of a journey of Margaret Fox into Yorkshire, 1672, written by her daughter Rachel.

A document signed by Admiral Penn, 1667.

Letters from John Burton and Benjamin Holme, 1712; Leonard Fell (no date); Isaac Penington to his wife, 1665; and many more of later date. The collection includes a green bombazine apron, such as was worn by women Friends for many years, and a silk handkerchief imprinted with a map of Meetings in Northern England, 1773; also numerous portraits and pictures.

Lucy A. Hodgkin also deposited on short loan a holograph letter from George Fox to his wife, written during the Worcester imprisonment. This letter and the Fox letter in the Cash collection have been identified as two of the letters missing from the MSS. recently printed as "The Journal of George Fox," Cambridge edition.

Friends Historical Society.

The work of this Society, which is closely interwoven with the work of the Library, has been actively furthered during the year. The tenth volume of "The Journal" of the Society contains more than twice the number of pages of the first volume, showing that the material available for publication has not become exhausted during the decade. A substantial volume of Supplements—"Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, 1654 to 1672," has been completed and is on sale. This year's Supplement, a life of Elizabeth Hooton, the first Friend woman preacher, is in hand, and considerable progress has been made with the printing and annotating of "The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall," to be published by arrangement with the Cambridge University Press. The publications of other historical societies received in exchange for "The Journal" are placed in the Reference Library and form a useful addition.

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Books for Distribution.

The list of books for sale and gratuitous distribution has been increased by the addition of "The Message and Mission of Quakerism," by Braithwaite and Hodgkin, and a German translation by Margaret Stähelin, of John S. Rowntree's "Society of Friends: Its Faith and Practice," under the title "Die Gesellschaft der Freunde, ihr Leben und Glauben."

Card Catalogue.

The Card Catalogue has been largely increased and a more useful and exhaustive set of "guide-cards" has been introduced. This collection of many thousands of references to persons, places, and subjects is increasingly made use of by readers and students.

Members of the Library Staff occasionally visit the British Museum, Public Record Office, the rooms of the Royal Historical Society, etc., for information not accessible at Devonshire House, which information is carded for future reference.

Lectures.

Lectures on historical subjects have been given by the Librarian. In the spring he undertook a fortnight's tour in Ireland, and in the autumn he gave several lectures while on a short visit to the United States. He has also addressed audiences of Friends and others in this country.

Preservation of Documents.

In conclusion, the Committee desires to draw the attention of Friends and others to the danger of destruction, without sufficient examination, of documents which might prove of historical value. Such documents are frequently in the possession of those who are no longer Friends, and pass into the hands of executors and others who are unaware of their possible value. Friends might well keep a careful watch over such cases; and the attention of possessors or custodians of documents connected with Friends is called to the central Library at Devonshire House, which is under the care of this Committee, as a convenient repository, either by way of loan or gift, for materials illustrating the history and principles of Quakerism.

ANNA L. LITTLEBOY, Clerk.

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SOCIETY

EDITED BY
NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

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FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Old Glasgow Meeting Houses

THE first mention of a Meeting House at Glasgow occurs in the minutes of Edinburgh Quarterly Meeting, Third Month, 1691:—"Jt being signified to this meeting y^t it would be of service to truth to have a meeting house taken in Glasgow friends here do unanimously Consent to itt & conclude to Contribut for y^e rent of itt." The subject is next alluded to in Twelfth Month, 1695, when Glasgow Friends, having written to the Quarterly Meeting "Concerning the buying of ane meeting house there: Jt is the mind of this meeting that such at Glasgow as have money to advance doe purchase the house at the easiest rate and take the right in their own name and in case the houses fall waste and not make up the yearly rent of the mony so to be advanced in that case this meeting will take care to make up the same friends of the s^d toun in the first place paying a sutable proportion thereof for the meeting room and what is behind to be made up as is above proposed."

A year later, Twelfth Month, 169⁶, Hew Wood, a worthy old Friend, a Minister, gardener to the Duke of Hamilton, suggested to the Quarterly Meeting that he and his fellow members at Hamilton should help Glasgow Friends to pay the interest of the money borrowed for the purchase of their meeting house, "web this meeting consents to." On referring to the minutes of Hamilton Monthly Meeting, we find that in the following Third Month two Friends from Glasgow were present, and represented the

great expense Friends there had incurred in repairing their Meeting House. The Monthly Meeting directed that the exact account of the outlay should be brought in to the next Monthly Meeting, "And then friends would take it into Consideration whether or no it shall be laid before the next quarterly meeting at edinburgh if so be a Course cannot be taken with it here amongst our selves in thire West pairs."

Accordingly, next month an account of "113^{lbs} 16^{sh} 0^d" was brought in, the amount which Friends of Glasgow had expended "in repairing their howse their which they have bought, wherin their is one Room dedicated for friends to meet in." It was then decided that Friends of Hamilton and Cumberhead would wait for a month and see how much Friends of Glasgow, Askein and Garshore were willing to contribute. In the Fifth Month it is frankly stated that Friends "not Haveing money at present," the business of Glasgow Meeting House is deferred, and it is not until the Eleventh Month that we find George Swan signing a receipt in the minute book for £47 . 7 Scots, the amount of the contribution by Friends of Hamilton.

We hear no more about the Meeting House for many years, but towards the end of 1728 we learn that Friends of Glasgow, having bought a new Meeting House, desired the advice of the Quarterly Meeting on the subject. The matter was referred to the next Quarterly Meeting, and meanwhile two Friends were appointed "to goe to Glasgow to take a view of the said house betwixt [now] and next Yearly Meeting." The report seems to have been satisfactory, as the Yearly Meeting, Third Month, 1729, agreed to allow John Purdon, a Friend of Glasgow, £60 sterling "for that lower part of the house which is now a danceing school and the closet or parlour adjoyning thereto together with the equal half of the garden on the back side of the house." The Quarterly Meeting will make up the amount still needed by Glasgow Friends for the purchase of the house, "and if friends there shal conclude to take that half of the garden which is furthest distant from the house then the said John Purdon is to allow friends Jsh [?] & entry therto." He is also to give Friends the first offer of his part of the house and garden

in case he wishes to sell it; and he and his heirs are to bind themselves to keep the roof and upper part of the house in good repair. For some reason this proposal did not satisfy Glasgow Friends, and their representatives at the next Quarterly Meeting "gave in a paper giving ane acc^{tt} of y^r uneasines w^t y^e minute of y^e Yearly Meeting relative to y^r meeting house q^h was read & after considering y^e matter dewly this meeting still adheers to y^e former minute." Accordingly, at the Monthly Meeting at Glasgow in Third Month, 1730, it was "Concluded that John Purdon Give ane disposition [of the house] to William Miller Juner at Ednburgh he recving from him the prise agraed theron." George Purdon (the brother of John) is to receive a sum of 500 Merks left to Hamilton Meeting by Janet Hamilton, relict of Alexander Hamilton,¹ of Drumbony, "and allso the severall superscriptions of friends at Glasgow and to marck what he recves and to be fwrth Coming to William Miler for the same in order to pay John Purdon for s^d house"²; George Swan and John Purdon are to give the trustees their bond for 500 merks and are to receive in exchange a disposition of the old Meeting House from the present

¹ Alexander Hamilton was one of the earliest native Ministers amongst Scottish Friends. In 1656 he was cited before the presbytery of Hamilton, threatened with "Clubb Law," and imprisoned. In the following year, having been seized as a vagabond at Kilmairies with other Friends of Glasfoord, he and they were imprisoned at Kilmarnock, and were afterwards passed on from constable to constable till they came to James Campbell of Cesnock, who, after examination and threatening, dismissed them. In 1673, he and eight other Friends, four of them women, were apprehended at a meeting in Linlithgow and carried off to prison. Next day they were examined before the Town Council, and sent back to prison; and being again brought before the magistrates "they were regwired either to goe willingly to Edinburgh and appear before the Secreet cownsell . . . or they would send a partie to ward them hither. And wpon their condescendencie to goe willingly they dismissed them And they according to their conditione went to Edinburgh and attended the cowncell all the tyme appointed to them. In which tyme the[y] were neuer called nor charged with anything by the cownsell so they returned to Linlithgow And signified to the provost their diligence according to agreement And he haveing receaved sattisfactione therewith they departed thence." Alexander Hamilton died in 1676, having bequeathed all his property to his wife, Janet. In 1683 the latter married James Gray of Hamilton, and died in 1706, leaving a bequest of 800 merks to Hamilton Meeting, which was payable on James Gray's decease.

² In Third Month, 1730, six Friends of Edinburgh and Kelso had subscribed £11 sterling to assist Friends of Glasgow in the purchase and repair of their new Meeting House.

proprietors. It was "Concluded also that the five hundred mercks shall pay no Jntrest while the olde meeting howse is unesold," or, as another minute adds, "while Eupham and Jane Weir is alive nor for six months after the decease of the longest liver of them two."

Three months later it was reported that the disposition of the new Meeting House and the garden had been granted to William Miller, Jun., and Charles Ormston, Jun., who are "to give a Back Bond to Geo: Purdon & Thomas Areskine Signifying that it is only disposed to them in trust": the business altogether seems somewhat complicated! In Twelfth Month 1733² report was made that John Purdon was desirous to sell that part of the Meeting House which belonged to him, and the Quarterly Meeting gave its advice that "it will be best for Glasgow Friends to Buy his part if they can Conveniently do it, seeing they seem to alledge that it will be so considerable a Loss to the Light of the meeting house providing any other should buy it." It appears that 19s. 6d. was paid out of the Yearly Meeting funds in Second Month, 1734, "for infestting³ W^m Miller junior & Charles Ormston junior in the Meeting house of Glasgow and Seasing thereon." In the Third Month of that year a request came to the Yearly Meeting at Edinburgh from Glasgow Friends, that part of the interest of Elizabeth Dickson's legacy might be applied to the repair of the Meeting House. The Yearly Meeting, however, decided that, as they had already contributed towards the purchase of the said building, it was the business of Glasgow Friends to keep it in repair.

I have been unable to find anything more in the Monthly Meeting minutes regarding Glasgow Meeting House until 1791. At the Quarterly Meeting for Sixth Month, 1737, however, an epistle was read from Friends of Glasgow in which they mention "that their meetings on the First days in the Afternoon was some times frequented by sober people, who behav'd decently. Also

³ Chambers, in his *Encyclopædia*, explains "Infestment" or "Sasine" as "a Scotch law-term used to denote the symbolical giving possession of land, which was the completion of the title, the mere conveyance not being enough. The instrument of Sasine was the notarial instrument embodying the fact of Infestment." Nowadays the process has been much simplified.

that they hop'd through divine Assistance to be mor in the way of their duty than heretofore."

From the cash accounts of the Yearly Meeting it would appear that the Meeting House was sold in 1751. In the Fifth Month of that year, one William Lumsden received £1 11s. 6d., "for writing the disposition to the Old Meeting house in Glasgow upon its sale," whilst "his servant" received three shillings, and six shillings was paid "for Extract of John Purdon's Disposition." In the following year £10 19s. 9d. was paid "to W^m Lumsden for his pains & trouble in going to Glasgow [probably on business connected with the new Meeting House] and for Charges in the journey & Postage of letters."

Curiously enough there is no definite statement in the accounts of the purchase of the new Meeting House, but there is a record of its sale for £300, early in 1791. We learn from the minute of that date that in Ninth Month, 1751, Charles Ormston, merchant in Kelso, and William Miller, elder and younger, Seedsman near the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, had been appointed trustees of the Meeting House; whilst in the cash accounts of Fourth Month, 1753, there is mention of £6 7s. 8d. having been paid by Edinburgh Monthly Meeting "to George Nisbet for a Gallery and other work to the Meeting house of Glasgow as p^r discharg'd Acct."

So far as we can gather from the records it would appear that no Friends had been resident in Glasgow probably for some time before 1788.⁴ In that year John Pemberton, writing to a Friend at Edinburgh, after visiting Friends in Scotland, says :

Dear G. Dillwyn to whom J wrote & mentioned the state of the meeting house at Glasgow [writes] "J mentioned to the meeting for Sufferings the circumstance of the meeting houses at Edinburgh and Glasgow, & thy proposal of having George Miller charged with the Care of them. The meeting proposed to take the subject up at a future siting & will probably write to G. Miller when they know from David Barclay who Corresponds with W^m Miller what has been done on the Occasion. J also Communicated the pleasing account of the little meeting at Glasgow. J have several times tho^t & even before J saw the place that there was a seed in it which would be raised.

⁴ There are no names of Glasgow or other West Country Friends in the list of members compiled by Edinburgh Monthly Meeting in 1787.

The meeting here alluded to would seem to have been a little gathering of seekers after Truth, of whom it was reported to Edinburgh Monthly Meeting in Fifth Month, 1789, that there was "some appearance of convincement at Glasgow," and one John Kay ventured to make application for membership, but his reception was delayed—it would appear indefinitely. Three years later, in Eleventh Month, 1792, Mary Dudley, writing to George Miller after her return from a religious visit to Scotland, remarks :

Our kind Companion, J[ohn] W[itche]ll, may communicate various particulars of our journey since leaving Perth . . . and our little stop at Glasgow, with the few *there* who appear under convincement, with whom we had a sitting on first day Evening in a Room at the Inn, and were further relieved by another season with some of them the next morning, previous to our departure : there felt to us something worth visiting among these, though but so few in number, and [we] could not but regret they were without a suitable meeting place, but perhaps if they are preserved on the right foundation, even in this respect way may be made for them, and the sympathy of their friends excited towards them—two of them it is to be fear'd have sustained loss, for one however I sensibly felt and am solicitous he may be helped, from a belief that the visitation of heavenly regard is renewed towards him . . . I write thus freely to thee my dear friend respecting these people, because I wish them to be the objects of your care and sympathy.

The little gathering mentioned by Mary Dudley was no doubt the seed out of which there shortly grew up the revived Meeting at Glasgow—now by far the largest assembly of Friends in Scotland.

W. F. MILLER.

Winscombe, Som.

Ellen Cockan, a well-known ministering Friend, once took a young woman to task for her gaiety in having a parasol. The ready rejoinder came : " Ellen Cockan, I bought it in thy shop."

Solomon Chapman, a Minister of the Society of Friends in the North of England, is described as being somewhat formal and sententious in speech. His directions to a servant in a house where he visited are recorded :—" Bring me two jugs of water in the morning—one, not warm, but hot ; another, not hot, but warm. Knock at the door, then open it, and proclaim the hour in an audible voice."

From THOMAS HENRY WEBB'S MS. *Collection of Quaker Stories.*

PRESENTATIONS IN EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS
BIRCHAYE, 1664. Oct. 20. William ... of uxof—
for not coming to Church, & having one child baptizd
that was both at our 10. 28 Ap. 1665.
Jesse of that he ... to ...
System ...
ardum Francke—for ...
Loughborough—All ... 1672. Aug. 10. Joem
Penfold ...
Loughborough. 1661-3. Wm Parker, baker—
for burying his child himselfe in Barrow Churchyard,
being extra poch (parochial), without Mr Beridge y^e
Vicar his consent.

Presentations in Episcopal Visitations, 1662:1679

Continued from Vol. xi. p. 104.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

LOUGHBOROUGH. 1661-3. Wm Parker, baker—
for burying his child himselfe in Barrow Churchyard,
being extra poch (parochial), without Mr Beridge y^e
Vicar his consent.

NORMANTON SUP LE HEATH. Willmum Killbye—
Johem Kilbye. For not comeing of late to divine service,
& for sitting in the Church with their hatts on in time
of sermon.—14 July, 1663.

MOUNT SORRELL. Matthew Rudkin—for not paying
two Levies—2/- and 1/-. For not coming to Church—
being a Quaker—e^x.

Richard Arington—do., do.

LOUGHBOROUGH. 1665. Oct. 11. Mariam Winterup
—for being a Quaker.

— Peele vid—for being a Quaker, & hath had
several Meetings in her house, contrary to the Lawes.

William Clark, Quaker, a great disturber to the
Church.

STAPLETON. 1664. Ap. 6. William Blaxely—for
not burying his children in y^e usuall place.

KILWORTH AUSTRALIS (South Kilworth). 1664. Oct.
20. Thomam Andrewes & his whole family—Jane
Woodward—as Quakers for not coming to Church.

8 PRESENTATIONS IN EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS

BELGRAVE. 1664. Oct. 20. William Sly et uxof—
for not coming to Church, & having one Child unbaptised
that was born at our town 28 Ap. 1665.

passus est that he goeth to y^e Church amongst
those that are called Quakers. Asked if he will receive
absolution: "he understands not what it is."

SYSTON. 1667. Ap. 26. Thomas Burbage, Rich-
ardum Francke—for being Quakers.

BELTON. 1674. Aug. 19. Robtum Hickson Taylor
—Annam eius ux—William Shephard, Cordwiner—
Quakers, none of whom come to the Church—eñ.

LEICESTER—All Saints. 1674. Aug. 19. Joēm
Penford¹ (*i.e.* Johannem)—yeoman—a Quaker—for
absenting himself from Church to hear divine service—
2 months. He doth sometimes abide in the parish of
All S^{ts} but that his habitacon & dwelling is at Kirkby
Muxloe.

KIRKBY MALLORY. 1674. Aug. 19. John Smart
juñ—reputed Quaker. eñ.

East Liss,
Hants.

G. LYON TURNER.

When Esther Wheeler (afterwards Seebohm) was in
attendance on her aged grandfather, William Tuke
[1732-1822], she often read to him in his blindness. On
one occasion, after finishing an interesting piece of
biography, in which the concluding scene was a short
one, she remarked how little was said respecting the
death of the person named, to which William Tuke
replied, "I reckon nought of that, a man's *life* is his
testimony."—*Memoirs of B. and E. Seebohm*, 1873, p. 112.

¹ George Fox, in his *Journal* (Camb. ed. ii. 110) refers to him—
"I went to Leicester to visitt y^e prisoners there. And from thence to
Jo: Penford's, where wee had a generall meetinge large & pretious."
vide note by Norman Penney, 110 2 on p. 406 (vol. ii.)—his arrest and fine
for a Conventicle in his house at Kirby Muxloe in 1670: He was also
heavily fined 1685.

Mercy Ransom, née Bell [1728-1811], of London, Croydon, and Hitchin

MERCY RANSOM was the tenth child and fifth daughter of Benjamin Bell, a Quaker druggist, of Leadenhall Street, London (and by company, a Citizen and Glover), and of Mercy Wragg, his wife, and was born there 15th June, 1728. In her early years she had the privilege of the ministrations of that eminent Quaker Minister, Samuel Fothergill, when she was resident both in London and at Croydon, where her grandparents, William and Mary (Owen) Wragg, her parents and three of her brothers and a married sister, Sarah Crafton, resided, and where her father was buried in 1752, and her mother in 1774.

In our possession is a manuscript, formerly Mercy Ransom's, inscribed "Mercy Bell's Commonplace Book, July the 24th, 1745." In this book the young Diarist has neatly entered her spiritual experiences, accounts of ministering Friends, Scripture texts, sundry events, copies of Quaker letters and anecdotes, etc., etc., up to the year 1757.

Amongst other entries are the following :—"Went to Tottenham, June 8th, 1738 [presumably to school]; Came away December 23, 1743." Then follows a long entry in cypher, in figures, which is easily decipherable!

Other entries include a copy of a religious letter from William Penn "To a young Person of his acquaintance," dated "Navy Office, 10th of y^e 5th Month, 1668," also a "Paper of James Naylor's written by way of Recantation after his Fall and Sufferings."

A long letter dated "London, 18th of the Seventh month, 1697," from Thomas Story to his father, on the latter's strong objection to his son going to Pennsylvania.

"28-4th month, 1749, a Meeting was appointed for Mary Paisley [Peisley, later Neale], and Mary Weston, etc. M. P. said 'Bad Books [are] as effectual poison to the mind as ars[e]nick to the Body.'"

"16-5th month, 1749, Henton Brown, Thomas Olave [Ollive], and Elizabeth Talwin was at Croydon Meeting."

Another entry says, "I remember when we went to pay our first visit to Cousin J[eremiah] O[wen]'s wife, 1749, notwithstanding the gaiety and grandeur which appear'd in her dress and Equipage, with which our eyes could not but be somewhat taken up, a certain passage of Scripture seem'd to live in my mind in a particular manner to wit what David says 'one Hour in the presence of God is better than a thousand any where else.'"

Other entries refer to the ministrations of Abigail Watson, Ann Barclay, William Pitts, Thomas Dann, John Hayward, Elizabeth Bundock, Sarah Artis, Lydia Lancaster, Benjamin Kidd, Jane Hoskins, S. Hunt, Elizabeth Sim[p]kins, Mary Abbott, Daniel Stanton of Pennsylvania, Samuel Sanns [? Sands] of Lancashire, Daniel Bell, John Hunt, Kitty Payton, Rachel Trafford, Nicholas Davis, Thomas Whitehead, Sophia Hume, John Townsend, Susanna Morris, Sarah [Sims] Beck, M. Keine, Thomas Constable, Rachel Penfold, Isaac Sharpless, etc., mostly at Croydon Meeting, Gracechurch Street, etc.

"In this year [1749-50] also I was at y^e Burial of our Friend Jonathan Dickenson, at which we had a very large meeting; he was a man generally well-beloved by his Friends and Neighbours."

"30-4-1751 Joseph Rule ["The Quaker in White"] was at Croydon Meeting, and the Day before he preach'd at the Market House." "11-6-1751, Joseph Rule at Croydon Meeting."

"18-5 month, 1753, Susanna Morris visited us accompanied by S[arah] Beck and M. Picket. Susanna spoke chiefly by way of Exhortation & seem'd to think there was among us who had received the Truth in the Love of it and were in a good degree Comformable to its Dictates. She also much perswaded my Brothers [William, Benjamin and Joseph Bell] to take heed and beware of Deism."

The Diarist frequently speaks of Samuel Fothergill's sermons, commencing 17-10-1749, principally at Gracechurch Street, also at Westminster, Devonshire House, Horslydown, Peel, Park, Wapping, etc., and notes a parting meeting at Gracechurch Street, 28-5-1752. Under date "12-9-1756 Samuel Fothergill was at Gracechurch St. Meeting Morning and Afternoon (the first time I saw him after his return from America) in the morning his text was 'Watchman what of ye night' . . . he stood about an Hour & half, & concluded the meeting in prayer. In the Afternoon (thou shalt not make unto thy self any graven Image), . . . stood, I think rather better than an Hour & half & concluded the Meeting in Prayer."

"In ye 11th Mo 1757 Samuel Fothergill came to visit this City of London; I many times heard him greatly to my Satisfaction, Instruction, Edification, & Comfort; I recollect some of the Texts he preached from viz^t at Joseph Besse's Burial, Ratcliffe (tho' not a Scripture Text, yet an undoubted Truth), 'It is a Solemn Thing to Live & an Awful Thing to Dye.'"

The Diarist then recites other occasions and texts. "4th Day Evening, young Folks Meeting, Devonshire House, 1 Tim. 4 Chap. 8 ver." . . . "This same day [sixth day], S[amuel] F[othergill] call'd at our house to bid us farewell, (indeed I thought it a solemn parting). On my saying 'I hope we shall profitably remember thy visit,' he spoke to this Effect, 'I earnestly wish the living among you may encrease in strength & be able to Bury the Dead. I have desir'd to be kept in the right line, & endeavour'd to move in it according to the best of my understanding. I have nothing to boast of but an easy calm or *quiet* [he] seem'd to intimate he had finish'd his Commission, or Business & could depart in Peace), there is many or Divers particulars of this City my spirit is united to in an indissolvable Bond; you both among divers others will often recurr to my Remembrance.' It was a Visit (tho' short, yet satisfactory) I think I shall not soon forget it. 30th 12 Mo. 1757."

Amongst miscellaneous entries, Mercy Bell says, under date "8-12 month, 1749-50, there was felt a shock of an earthquake in the City of London and Suburbs,

likewise at Westminster, I felt it at our house in Leadenhall Street in the Dining Room sitting in a window, it seem'd to me as if the House gave way like one going to fall. 8th 1st month following about half an hour after 5 a Clock in y^e morning we felt another shock which I believe is generally allowed to be considerably greater than the former, it seemed so to me; many People was waked out of their Sleep; some say there was a small Shock between 1 & 2 in the morning, I heard a person say so that felt it; neither is these all the warnings that Infinite Wisdom has seen meet to send us, one of which I should think might be sufficient to convince every mortal not only that there is an Almighty Being, but that he can shake us poor worms into Atoms in a moment. I think that of the Locusts which hath appear'd in and about London for the 2 last Summers is remarkable & appears to me as if Infinite Loving Kindness is yet pleas'd to spare us a little longer to see if shaking the Rod will lead this long-favour'd nation to Repentance, which my soul truly desires."

Mercy Bell, then aged about thirty, married firstly, 17 May, 1757, at Devonshire House, as his second wife, Stamper Bland, of Lombard Street, Citizen and Banker, son of John and the late Elizabeth Bland of the same. At this wedding was a large gathering of relatives of the names of Chamberlin, Crafton, Vaux, Owen, Bell, Bland, Hagen, Chorley, Wragg, Stamper, etc.; and amongst other witnesses were Edmund Peckover, Daniel Bell, Joseph Green, Grizell Hoare, etc., etc.

Stamper Bland did not long survive this marriage, but died 7 May, 1761, in his forty-second year, and was buried in Bunhill Fields. He had married, firstly, says the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "9 November, 1747, at the Quakers' Meeting . . . Miss Sally Morgan, of Stratford," with a fortune of "6000l."

After her husband's death, Mercy Bland went to reside at Norwich, probably to keep house for her brother-in-law, John Oxley,¹ formerly of Warwick, who had

¹ John Oxley, who survived until 1773, was brother to Joseph Oxley, the well-known Minister (whose interesting Journal was published by John Barclay in 1837), and grandfather of the Oxleys of Stoke Newington, the last of whom, Caroline Oxley, survived until 1889, when she died, aged eighty-four.

married her sister, Elizabeth Bell, who had died in 1760, aged thirty-five.

Mercy Bland married, secondly, at Tottenham, 16 May, 1765, as his second wife, Joseph Ransom of Hitchin, mealman, son of Joseph Ransom of the same, baker, and formerly of Southwark, and Mary Burr his wife, and grandson of Richard Ransom, of North Walsham, Norfolk, miller, and Phoebe his wife, of the former of whom there is an account in *Piety Promoted*.

Joseph Ransom of Hitchin, who was Mercy Ransom's senior by some twelve years, died 1779, aged sixty-three, and she had no issue by either husband.

By Joseph Ransom's first wife, Ann Laundry, whom he married in 1744, he had issue, and he was the great-grandfather of the late Alfred and William Ransom of Hitchin, and Edwin Ransom of Bedford, and of the late Margaret Barclay and Mary Ann Seeböhm.

Mercy Ransom, who continued to reside at Hitchin until her death, was from youth a religious character, "steady and exemplary and always holding the things that are most excellent in the highest estimation"; and about 1784 became a Minister in the Society and was well known as such throughout the country. She travelled extensively in Great Britain and Ireland, and in some of her services had as her companion her ancient friend, Sarah Crawley.²

In a manuscript diary of Mercy Ransom's in our possession we find the following. In 1792 she went *via* Reading to Bristol, where she visited, with her companion, Hannah Stephenson, the families of Friends at Bristol and Bath, being joined in that service by Deborah Darby and Rebekah Young. She gives the names of all the families visited, and who were the members composing them. During her service at Bristol from the 10 October, 1792 (suspended for a week during that time through Deborah Darby's illness), to the 22 November, she held 190 sittings and visited 691 persons.

² This Friend was born at Hitchin in 1717. Her mother, the daughter of John Field, the compiler of several parts of *Piety Promoted*, remembered William Penn, in whose company she had been. Of Sarah Crawley, who was a Minister for sixty years, and who died in 1799, aged eighty-one, there is an account in *Piety Promoted*.

Mercy Ransom next went to Frenchay, visiting John Hill and his daughters Ann and Elizabeth at their boarding-school there. Later she went to Bath and visited Christiania Gurney and her brother Joseph Freame.

In 1793, she attended the Welsh Yearly Meeting at Carmarthen, where she met Job Scott, who held a meeting at the Theatre, went to Haverfordwest, where she visited Abraham Clibborn and family, Milford Haven, Cardiff, Pontypool, and Abergavenny, from thence returning by stage to London.

Later, with Sarah Crawley, she went to Stotfold, meeting with Rud Wheeler and Isaac Sharples.

She appears to have been in Scotland in 1794.

In 1795, visits were paid to all the Meetings in London, also to the Quarterly Meetings of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk. When at Norwich she heard of the death of her brother, Benjamin Bell, of Croydon, and returned for the funeral, riding on this journey in all some 783 miles.

In 1796, Mercy Ransom paid visits within the compass of her own Quarterly Meeting, visiting Luton, Hemstead, Chorley Wood, Rickmansworth (where she lodged "at my sister Bland's, her sister Mary and she living together in a house belonging to Cousin Mary Stamper"), St. Albans, and so home to Hitchin.

The same year she went to Worcester by way of Ampthill and Chipping Norton. She visited Bromyard, Leominster, Ross (at Thomas Pritchard's), Tewksbury, Oxford, etc. Of this visit she gives a detailed account of the Friends visited, some 168 in all, and travelling 311 miles.

In 1797, Mercy Ransom, with her esteemed friend, Ann Christy (who as Nanny Christy figures with a green apron in the picture of Gracechurch Street Meeting), visited Friends of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting.

In 1798, with her step-daughter, Ann Ransom, she visited Friends' families in Albans Monthly Meeting. The same year, 24 Ninth Month, she attended "the first Monthly Meeting held at Ampthill since the junction with Baldock, when we had Mary Sterry's company."

The same year also she visited Friends' families of Ratcliff Monthly Meeting, about sixty sittings in all.

In 1801, with her "dear friend, Phebe Lucas," she attended the Monthly Meeting at Hertford, visiting families there.

She concludes her Journal as follows: "Oh how weighty is the work! who is sufficient for these things? no man, as man, nothing that is of the creature; nothing but the fresh pouring forth of the Divine Emanation on the mind of the humbled servant, in every sitting; it is trying to the natural mind to be thus engaged, but that Peace which passeth all human understanding makes up for many difficulties, but oh! how has my mind been sorrowful in some Families, on feeling the insensibility that prevails in Individuals, who profess to be led and guided by the Holy Spirit."

The next year, 1802, Mercy Ransom had a fall, which confined her to the house about six months, but in spite of acute suffering she was able at times to attend her own Meeting, although never recovering her usual health.

During her illness she kept a diary, which, edited by her niece Susanna (Crafton) Day, of Saffron Walden, was published in 1816, after her death, entitled *Some Remarks by way of Diary written by Mercy Ransom during a long confinement by lameness*. This diary commences 30 xii. 1802, and ends 18 xi. 1810.

Mercy Ransom died at Hitchin 25 v. 1811, aged eighty-three, and was buried in Friends' Burial Ground there 2 vi. 1811, having been a Minister some twenty-five years.

In Tenth Month, 1811, Hitchin Monthly Meeting issued a long and appreciative Testimony concerning her, signed by twenty-seven men and nineteen women Friends, which was endorsed by Beds and Herts Quarterly Meeting. The Testimony states that in her last illness she said: "I have loved the Lord with all my heart, with all my soul, and with all my strength, and I hope I have loved my neighbour as myself," and later, "Farewell, farewell, I have an allotment in Heaven."

There is an account of this good woman in *Piety Promoted*, and a facsimile of her signature in *Select Miscellanies*.

A striking silhouette portrait of her by her niece, Susanna Day, dated 1768, also exists.

Mercy Ransom was greatly valued and revered by her relations and friends; she seems to have been quite an oracle in her family, and, like many another Friend, was well up in medicaments and cooking recipes. Amongst manuscripts of hers in our possession are recipes for Lip Salve, Cowslip Wine, Black Puddings, Consumption, Dutch Flummery, "Bleau Mange," etc.

Amongst relics of her are a small trunk with M.R. upon it in brass nails, and a silver apple-scoop, M.R. to M.G., presented by her to her great-niece Mercy Green, of Saffron Walden, formerly Day, upon her marriage, probably in 1795.

We possess a long and neatly written letter from her to her step-daughter, Ann Ransom, of Hitchin, dated Pontypool, 4 v. 1793, which gives an account of her religious services in that neighbourhood. Another letter of 1771, dated Hitchin, to her niece, Susanna Crafton, of Croydon, is one of encouragement in her religious course. A postscript says: "I have received my Gold Buttons, have not paid the charge; if thou have opportunity please do it."

The last entry in the Diary (1797-1803) of her niece Susanna Day reads: "6 January, 1803. Received an alarming account of Aunt Ransom's Health by a Letter from her Daughter [Ann], went over to Hitchin pretty directly—spent three weeks most of the time with Aunt. While I was there Joshua Wheeler was removed by Death. Sister Exton accompanied by Cousin Mary Ransom [later Exton] and [my] daughter Agatha [Day] came over to attend the Interment; staid near a week at Hitchin after which I returned with them to Ampthill and spent most of the week following; came home by way of Hitchin, where my son Richard [Day] met me. Left dear Aunt better. She discovered an Inclination to come over to Walden to spend the remainder of her days with me. I do not find my spirits equal to taking up the subject, neither does it appear practicable in Aunt's very lame infirm state to get her removed so far, so that matter is left for the present."

JOSEPH J. GREEN.

Hastings.

The Carleton Chronicle

THOMAS CARLETON (1636-1684) has been previously mentioned in THE JOURNAL (iii. 12; x. 154n; xi. 117). By the kindness of Thomas Henry Webb, of Dublin, we have had before us a copy of an ancient Carleton Chronicle, which is introduced as follows:—

“The bringing up and the doings of Thomas Carleton, son and heir of Thomas Carleton, and Ann his wife, daughter of William Layton, of Dalmaine [Cumberland], for so much as he can remember truly, made & written in the year of our Lord 1510 and the year of his age 50, being born the 7th of January, of first year of Henry VIII., at Carleton Hall, compiled by the said Thomas Carleton himself.”

The family is traced back to Baldwin de Carleton who “was before the Conquest by two successions.”

T. H. Webb has, however, failed to connect the Quaker Carletons with this ancient house, though both families were seated at Little Salkeld in the parish of Addingham, in Cumberland.

The Quaker Thomas was the son of John and Elinor, who, with their children, went over to Ireland in 1674 from their Cumberland home. Thomas married, 1669, Isabel, daughter of Thomas Mark, of Mossdale, Cumberland. His sister, Margaret, married Jonathan Nicholson, of co. Wexford, in 1679. Thomas and Isabel had eight children, of whom Deborah married John Chandlee (*a quo* T. H. Webb) and Joshua, the owner of the Chronicle, married Rachel Rooke.

In the charming *Annals of Ballitore*, by Mary Leadbeater, granddaughter of Joshua and Rachel Carleton, there are many interesting details of the simple life of members of the Carleton family at Fuller's Court, Ballitore, in the County Kildare, which will well repay perusal.

In the collection of Carleton's writings, published in 1694—*The Memory of . . . Thomas Carleton Reviv'd*—he only slightly refers to his family—his father was a “husbandman mean (though honest).”

Thomas settled at Ballinacarrick, co. Wexford, prior to which he had suffered several years' imprisonment for non-payment of tithe at the suit of the clergyman of his parish, “one of England's chief Priests, named Lewis West” (*Captives Complaint, or the Prisoners Plea*, 1668, p. 28).

There are slight allusions to Carleton's early ministry in *F.P.T.* In 1676 he wrote an epistle to Friends in Ireland, which was printed.

Men, not living to what they know, cannot blame God, that they know no more. The unfruitfulness is in us not in the *Talent*.

WILLIAM PENN, *Primitive Christianity Revived*, 1696, chap. vi. sect. i.

Real People of "The House of the Seven Gables"

THERE was indeed small need for Nathaniel Hawthorne to go outside his own family for characters for his romance *The House of the Seven Gables*,¹ with the haunting figures of his early ancestors, "invested by family tradition with a dim and dusky grandeur," still in memory. It was only necessary that he subject them "to his own mixing," possibly brightening the lights and deepening the shadows around them in his chosen legend "from an epoch now gray in the distance, down into our own broad daylight," with something also of "its legendary mist."

Colonel Pyncheon, it is said, represents Colonel John Hathorne (died 1717), magistrate of Salem, the great-grandfather of the Author, who "made himself so conspicuous in the martyrdom of the witches that their blood may fairly be said to have left a stain upon him². So deep a stain, indeed, that his dry old bones, in the Charter Street Burial Ground, must still retain it if they have not crumbled utterly to dust,"³ and Hawthorne believed that over his family still hung the dark shadow of the witches' curse. The Judge Pyncheon of the romance inherited all the persecuting spirit of this ancestor, and vented it on his helpless relatives.

But it was William Hathorne, the father of John, who came to America from Wiltshire, Eng., about 1630, that the Friends have best reason to remember; of him the Author writes: "He was a soldier, legislator, judge; he was a ruler in the Church; he had all the Puritanic traits, both good and evil. He was likewise a bitter persecutor, as witness the Quakers, who have

¹ Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864) finished his novel, *The House of the Seven Gables*, early in 1851. A cheap English edition has appeared in Collins' Clear-type Series.

² See reference to him in Longfellow's *New England Tragedies*—"Giles Corey of the Salem Farms."

³ *The Custom House*, prologue to *The Scarlet Letter*.

remembered him in their histories,⁴ and relate an incident of his hard severity towards a woman of their sect, which will last longer, it is to be feared, than any record of his better deeds, although these were many."⁵ This woman was Ann Coleman, who with four of her friends he caused to be whipped through Salem, Boston and Dedham.⁶ He was scarcely less cruel to Cassandra Southwick,⁷ whose family he bitterly persecuted, and whenever possible reminded Endicott: "There is a woman named Southwick preaching in the woods in our town;"⁸ information that was followed by fines, whippings and banishments, only ending in the final banishment of the aged couple, Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, who, going to Shelter Island, both died there a few days later.⁹

March, 9, 60.

Major Hathorne at Dinnr with ye Govr & maiestrates at a court of assistants said that at Salem y^r was a woman called Consander Southieck y^t said shee was greater yⁿ Moses for Moses had seen God but twice & his backe parts & shee had seen him 3 times face to face, instancing the place (ie) her old Home one time, & by such a swamp another time.¹⁰

And it seems altogether probable that Hathorne

⁴ Captain William Hathorne (1607-1681) comes in for frequent notice in Bishop's record of sufferings in his *New England Judged*, 1703. In the "presentation" of Nicholas Phelps of Salem for non-attendance at church, Hathorne had a hand, and Bishop writes: "Whose name I record to Rot and Stink to all Generations, unto whom this shall be left as a perpetual Record of Everlasting Shame," etc. (*N. E. Judged*, p. 77). His brother magistrates were Major-General Daniel Denison ("of whose Cruelty I have much to say in this Relation," says Bishop), and Simon Bradstreet, another persecutor. See also *Elizabeth Hooton*, 1914.

⁵ *The Custom House*.

⁶ See *Hawthorne*, by Henry James, Junr., in "English Men of Letters" series, 1879, p. 7; also *A Study of Hawthorne*, by George Parsons Lathrop, Boston, 1876. The Puritan whip consisted of three separate cords of twisted hair, with a knot at the end of each.

⁷ Whittier, in his poem, "Cassandra Southwick," used the mother's name with the daughter, Provided's, story.

⁸ "Quakers began to worship in woods and private houses and were followed up by Magistrate Hathorne."—GEORGE B. ELLIS, *Puritan Age in Massachusetts*, 1888, p. 452. (Bayard Taylor Free Library.)

⁹ Janney, *History of Friends*, i. 388.

¹⁰ Hallowell, *Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts*, p. 161.

did not escape his share of the judgments that the Quakers felt themselves Divinely authorized to predict.

I know not whether these ancestors of mine bethought themselves to repent, and to ask pardon of Heaven for their cruelties; or whether they are now groaning under the heavy consequences of them in another state of being. At all events I, the present writer, as their representative, hereby take shame upon myself for their sakes, and pray that any curse incurred by them—as I have heard, and as the dreary and unprosperous condition of the race, for many a long year back, would argue to exist—may be now and henceforth removed.¹¹

And because of these things Hawthorne took for the moral of his romance "the truth, namely, that the wrongdoing of one generation lives in the successive ones, and divesting itself of every temporary advantage, becomes a pure and uncontrollable mischief."

THOMAS MAULE, 1645-1724

Again, in the annals of his native town and the records of the Custom House, Nathaniel Hawthorne no doubt found the name of Thomas Maule, the Quaker Merchant of Salem, whose family because of long persecution had finally removed to the more congenial land of Penn,¹² and whose name had disappeared from the later annals of the place. "As for Matthew Maule's posterity, it was supposed now to be extinct. For thirty years past neither town record, nor gravestone, nor the directory, nor the knowledge or memory of man, bore any trace of Matthew Maule's descendants," and it was probably with the thought of Quaker and not personal peculiarities in mind that Hawthorne wrote: "So long as any of the race were to be found, they had been marked out from other men." It seems probable too that in truth he was the opponent of Magistrate Hathorne so far as his peaceful principles permitted, as he published various pamphlets and "Mauled the New England Persecutors with their own weapons,"¹³ and even had the

¹¹ *The Custom House.*

¹² *Maule Genealogy*, Philadelphia, 1868, in H.S.P.

¹³ *New-England Pesecutors [sic] Mauled With their own Weapons* . . . together with a brief Account of the Imprisonment and Tryal of Thomas Maule of Salem, for publishing a Book, entitled, "Truth held forth and maintained," &c. By Tho. Philathes. No date. No printer or place. This tract of sixty-two pages is in D. Title page here reproduced.

22 "THE HOUSE OF THE SEVEN GABLES"

temerity to enter into a controversy with "Cotton Mather
and the High Clergy of Salem," which doubtless did not
give him what favour in New England he might have
According to the Friends records
Thomas Mather of Boston and Salem, 1725, and his
Y. Mather, 1725, being taken from the
Church
21

NEW-ENGLAND

Persecutors Mauled

VVith their own VVeapons.

Giving some Account of the bloody Laws made at *Boston*
against the Kings Subjects that dissented from their
way of Worship.

Together with a brief Account of the Imprisonment and
Tryal of *Thomas Mause* of *Salem*, for publishing a Book,
entituled, *Truth held forth and maintained, &c.*

By *Tho. Philathes.*

Truth saileth, and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey,
Isa. 59. 14, 15.

*As Troops of Robbers waite for a Man, so do the company Priests mur-
der in every way by consent, Hosea 6. 9.*

*Shall the Throne of Iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth
Mischief by a Law; they gather themselves together against the
Soul of the Righteous, and condemn the Innocent Blood, Psal 94.
20, 21.*

temerity to enter into a controversy with "Cotton Mather and the Witch Burners of Salem,"¹⁴ which doubtless did not give him added favour in Magistrate Hathorne's sight.

According to the Friends' records :

Thomas y^e son of Thomas and Susanna Maule was born y^e 11th day of y^e 3^m called May 1645, being taken from the redgester book in Barkville Church, so called, in Warwickshear neere y^e city of Couentree in Old England.

According to his own account :¹⁵

Thomas Maule, a young man about twelve years of Age, came from *England* to the Island of *Barbadoes*, and from thence for his health sake to *New-England*, where, hearing much preaching and loud praying, he began to think with himself what manner of People are these ? whose Streets ring with the noise of Preaching and Praying ; and having lived amongst them about three years he did experience their words to be good, but by their works to have no good hearts ; at the end of which time he removed himself to another of their Towns, called *Salem*, where he found the Church Members to be in all respects (as to religion) one with them in the other Towns of their Jurisdiction ; but in Salem he found a people of few words and good works agreeable thereunto, with which people he Joined, by keeping to their Meetings ; which so inraged the Church Members that, with their Priests, they stirred up the Rulers against him, and fined the man where he kept fifty Pounds for entertaining him.

Maule arrived in Salem in 1669, and in 1678 the old account book of Joshua Buffum, still preserved in his family, tells that " a house is engaged to be built for Thomas Maule y^e 20 day of the 10 mo. 1678, and to be finished by the last of 8 mo. 1679." Its length was 35 ft., breadth 20 ft., stud¹⁶ 14 ft. height and a gate at the end 2 feet. Its partial cost was £47 8s. 10d. Some of the rougher work was done by Indians. The house was situated on the south side of Essex Street, on the spot where the mansion of Messrs. Curwen now stands. A tolerably accurate drawing of the house has been presented to the Essex Institute, Salem, by James B. Curwen. The house was demolished in 1852. The old " Curwen house " as it was later called, was one of three in Salem, each

¹⁴ A copy of this very rare tract *An Abstract of a Letter to Colton Mather, of Boston, in New-England, 1701*, is in Friends' Library, Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia. Not in D. See Smith's *Cata.* ii. 167 ; Hildeburn's *Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784*, i. 38.

¹⁵ *New-England Persecutors Mauled*, p. 52.

¹⁶ Stud=the joists, lumber to which lath and outside boards are nailed.

claiming to be the original of the House of Seven Gables,¹⁷ situated on "Pyncheon Street, formerly Maule's Lane." But the house of Thomas Maule, during his lifetime at least, did not become the property of the (Hathorne) Pyncheon family, for here he is said to have lived, transacted business, entertained the "persecuted Quakers and acted as disciple and teacher by turns." Here for a time the Friends' Meetings were held (1680), and here Maule died.¹⁸

Thomas Maule married Naomi, daughter of Christopher Lindsey, of Lynn, and their children were:

Susanna, dau., b. 15 7mo., 1671.

Elizabeth, dau., b. 11 7mo., 1673.

Deliverance, son, b. 21 8mo., 1675, d. Sept. 28, 1676.

Sarath, dau., b. 17 7mo., 1677.

Margaret, dau., b. 21 1mo., 1680.

Peleth, son, b. 10 3mo., 1682.

John, son, b. 9 8mo., 1684.

Joseph, son, b. 12 Feb., 1687, d. 14 March, 1687.

His wife having died, he married, 3 October, 1713, Sarah Kendall, daughter of James Kendall, of Staffordshire, Old England.

He had meantime become one of Salem's wealthy merchants, his old account book (Lynn Historical Society) gives for one year the amount of his cash business as \$18,500.

He built in 1689 the first Friends' Meeting House¹⁹ on the south side of Essex Street. This property was sold to Maule in 1716 for £25, and a new house built

¹⁷ "At all events, Thomas Maule became the architect of the House of the Seven Gables, and performed his duty so faithfully that the timber framework, fastened by his hands, still holds together."—*The House of the Seven Gables*, Salem ed. 1893, p. 17.

¹⁸ Biographical Sketch of Thomas Maule by A. C. Goodell in *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, vol. iii.

¹⁹ The first Friends' Burial Ground in Salem was on the east side of Boston Street, north of head of Goodhue. The remains were then disinterred and put in a private burial ground at Danvers and finally (1680) removed to a new lot, now partly covered by the street opposite Gen. Sutton's residence leading to Harmony Grove, purchased by Maule. The only stone is a granite one marked R. B. (Robert Buffum, who died 6 August, 1669.)

opposite. Other property owned by him was Winters Island; the Meeting House pasture (six acres); a site near North Church, called his "orchard"; land in the North fields, etc. His "orchard" was said to be a noted spot, because of the legend that his trees were all cut down by his persecutors, but sprouted up so luxuriantly that they bore more fruit than ever. Here one can easily find the origin of "Maule's Garden," and doubtless also of the Maule's Lane of the romance.

On the marriage of "Holgrave and Phebe" we have no light, but the name of Philip English,²⁰ merchant of Boston, the hereditary foe of the Hathornes, appears in the old account book of Maule.

Thomas Maule, during the fifty-seven years of his life in Salem, suffered his full share of persecution, beginning soon after the date of his arrival in 1669, when "Samuel Robinson and Samuel Shadock were fined £20 apiece for entertaining Thomas Maule." He was many times arrested, often acquitted, sometimes fined, and twice whipped, once for saying that "Mr. Higginson preached lies, and his instruction was the doctrine of devils."²¹

The "great act in the drama" of Maule's life followed the publication (1695) of his book, *Truth held Forth and Maintained*.²² "Cotton Mather undertook to answer it and failed." Sheriff George Corwin seized and burned books to the value of £16. Maule was arrested 12 December, 1695, and finally brought to his third trial before the Governor and Council. The Judges were Thomas Danforth, Elisha Cooke and Samuel Sewell, with Anthony Checkly attorney-general or King's attorney. The prisoner was defended by Dr. Benjamin Bullivant, of Boston. The charge against the prisoner was that his book contained divers slanders against the Church and

²⁰ "Philip English was one of those who suffered from John Hathorne's magisterial harshness and who, in consequence, maintained a lasting feud with him. At his death he left daughters, one of whom married the son of Justice John Hathorne, whom English had declared he never would forgive." Introductory note to *The House of the Seven Gables*, Salem ed. 1893, p. x.

²¹ This, notwithstanding previous charges against him that he did not believe in the devil, and the name given him of "No-devil Maule."

²² See note 13. A copy of this book is in the Essex Institute Library, and another is in D. Title page is here reproduced.

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Governor of this Province, and for saying at his Court at Ipswich, that there were great mistakes in the Scripture, as in his book. The Judge charged the jury, that they should not be influenced by the Governor's words, but that they should judge the jury as they were, and not as they were not.

Truth held Forth

A N D

MAINTAINED

According to the Testimony of the holy Prophets, Christ and his Apostles recorded in the holy Scriptures.

With some Account of the Judgments of the Lord lately inflicted upon *New-England* by Witch-craft.

To which is added, Something concerning the Fall of *Adam*, his state in the Fall, and way of Restoration to God again, with many other weighty things, necessary for People to weigh and consider.

Written in true Love to the Souls of my Neighbours, and all Men, which includeth that Love to them, as to my self,
by

Thomas Maule.

Printed in the Year 1695.

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Governor of this Province, and also for saying at his Court at Ipswich "that there were as great mistakes in the Scriptures as in his book." The Judge charged the jury that Maule's book "tends to overthrow all good in Church and Commonwealth which God has planted among People in this Commonwealth," etc.,²³ but much to the astonishment and chagrin of the Judges, the jury brought in a verdict of *not guilty*, saying they were "not a jury of divines," etc. This was the first time in the history of Massachusetts when a jury had refused to act as tools and brought in an independent verdict, and it was considered one of its most important trials.

Maule died 2nd of July, 1724. In his will he settled his estate on his son John, on condition that he carry out his wishes. Buffum's will in 1667 had been refused probate because its witnesses would only affirm to its execution. So Maule took the precaution to have such witnesses as would have no scruple that way. It was customary also to furnish drink and gloves and mourning rings for the mourners (Joshua Buffum had purchased a liberal store of wine for the "mourners of Thomas Ruck"), and the Great and General Court had solemnly declared that funerals and weddings were the only occasions to justify the offence of selling cakes and buns; but Maule boldly substituted for the drink and gloves the donation of £5 to the select men of Salem for the use of the poor, and £3 towards the advancement of a "writing and cyphering school" in the town.

Thomas Maule was no wizard, but a remarkable man with "great strength of character and sincerity of life," and while suffering with the Friends, he did much to defend and doubtless to make better understood their belief.

West Grove, Pa.

ELLA KENT BARNARD.

I desire to acknowledge my obligation to A. C. Goodell, of the Essex Institute, for much information relating to Thomas Maule.—E.K.B.

²³ Cotton Mather (1663-1728), in his *History of New England*, p. 96, writes: "One Tom Maule at this time living in Salem, hath exposed unto the Publick, a Volume of Nonsensical Blasphemies and Heresies, wherein he sets himself to defend the Indians in their Bloody Villanies and revile the Country for defending itself against them."

As for "the curse" on the Hawthorne family, it is doubtful if Hawthorne really believed in its efficacy. "I should fancy from your books," wrote Hillard,²⁴ "that you were burdened with some secret sorrow, that you had some blue chamber in your soul, into which you hardly dared to enter yourself; but when I see you, you give me the impression of a man as healthy as Adam in Paradise."

Possibly also we do not believe in the "curse" of former generations—retribution is a term better suited to us and our modern beliefs.

Though the mills of God grind slowly,
Yet they grind exceeding small:
Though with patience He stand waiting,
With exactness grinds He all.

Tennyson.

Since the above was written, nearly half of Salem was destroyed in the great fire of 26th of June, 1914. Nearly every house in Hawthorne Street was burned, also Friends' Meeting House.

A Short Convincing Sermon

In the days when the Erie Canal was projected many good people of various denominations seriously felt that it was flying in the face of Providence to build a canal from Buffalo to the seaboard.

If the Lord had intended that there be navigation across the State would He not have made a waterway there? In the midst of this weighty controversy it one day happened that a certain Minister attended a meeting where a most uncommercial, but wellmeaning, brother talked long against the effort to build the Canal.

Surely, he was quite different from most Friends, who are naturally quick to develop commerce. After he had proved to his own satisfaction, at least, the evil of the thing, a long, gaunt figure, with tense face and profound determination, if not disgust, depicted in every lineament, arose, the angular body reached forward, a long fore-finger was thrust out, while solemnly rolled forth this very pithy sermon: "And Jacob digged a well!"

WILLIAM C. ALLEN, in *The Westonian*, Pa., 11MO. 1913.

²⁴ George Stillman Hillard (1808-1879), American Journalist and Miscellaneous Writer. See "Nathaniel Hawthorne's Life," by Prof. W. F. P. Stockley, M.A., in *The Irish Educational Review*, 1914.

Friends in Denbighshire

IN the *Inventory* for this county, issued by the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire, are the following references to Friends' Meeting Houses and Burial Grounds, visited for the Commission by its Assistant Inspecting Officer in North Wales, Mr. Alfred Neobard Palmer.

Parish of CEFN (RUABON)

QUAKERS' CHAPEL. (6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Denb. 35 S.W.; lat. $52^{\circ} 57' 56''$; long. $3^{\circ} 3' 55''$.)

A building of the end of the seventeenth century, of perfectly plain character, and having no attractive features in woodwork or stone.¹ The building is of two storeys; the walls are of red brick, now hidden under modern colouring. The original chimneys remain. Between it and the main road are some modern additions. —Visited 8th August, 1911.

Parish of HOLT

QUAKER'S YARD. (6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Denb. 22 S.E.; lat. $53^{\circ} 4' 52''$; long. $2^{\circ} 52' 45''$.)

A small piece of ground containing seventeen square perches, facing the north-east corner of Church Green, Holt, which was bought on the 23rd February, 1681/2, from Thomas Taylor of Worthenbury, by Arthur Paynter of Church Shocklach and John Newton of Caldicot, Cheshire, for the burial of members of the Society of Friends. It was afterwards legally conveyed to trustees, and finally sold by the Society about the year 1850.

¹ This structure was probably built as a Meeting House when the residence of Rhuddallt, in the parish of Ruabon, once owned and occupied by a family of small gentry named Davies, members of the Society of Friends, was closed to their co-religionists by the migration of the family to Pennsylvania. For this reason the new Meeting House may have been called "Rhuddallt," though situated in the township of Cefn. It was afterwards occupied by the Baptists, and just below it is the present Baptist Chapel.

There appear to be no records of the little community, but the name of one Friend who was buried in this spot has been preserved, namely, Thomas Yarwood, of Mobberley, Cheshire, on the 16th day of the Tenth Month, 1695, aged about 74. See Palmer's *Hist. of the Older Nonconformity of Wrexham*, pp. 126, 128.—Visited 19th May, 1911.

Parish of LLANGOLLEN RURAL

PLAS IFA. (6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Denb. 34 S.E.; lat. $52^{\circ} 58' 22''$; long. $3^{\circ} 7' 25''$.)

A modern house erected in 1865. Its predecessor,² which was then pulled down, is deserving of remembrance as the home of the well-known Quaker, John ap John, of Trevor, who died in 1697.³ The only relic of the earlier house that has survived is an oak beam in the ceiling of one of the lower rooms, on which is carved foliage and pomegranates.

MYNWENT Y QUAKER,⁴ "THE QUAKER'S GRAVEYARD"
(6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Denb. 34 S.E.; lat. $52^{\circ} 58' 17''$;
long. $3^{\circ} 7' 36''$).

A portion of a meadow on the north side of the Dee, and sloping to the river; now cut off from Plas Ifa by a modern canal. It is better known as "Cae'r dorlan," but according to a statement in Simpson's *Guide to Llangollen* (1827), it was formerly known as "Mynwent y Quaker," and this name is known to have continued in use as late as 1888. Simpson adds that "in cutting the Canal the earth from the excavations was thrown upon the old graves."—Visited 29th May, 1911.

² A photograph of the earlier Plas represents it as a large early sixteenth century house, with two big chimney stacks.

³ See Journal Supplement No. 6, *John ap John and Early Records of Friends in Wales*, 1907.

⁴ It will be observed that the proper name is in the singular: "Quaker," not "Quakers"; and it is probable that the burials here have been confined to the family and dependants of John ap John. In the diary kept by him he records on the 9th of Eleventh Month (January) 1695, the burial of his wife Catherine "at Trevor."

Parish of WREXHAM REGIS

SITE OF FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE AND BURIAL GROUND.
 (6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Denb. 28 S.E. ; lat. $53^{\circ} 2' 49''$;
 long. $2^{\circ} 59' 21''$.)

In 1708 a Meeting House was established by the Society of Friends in the district called "the Lampint," opposite Holt Street House. The Wrexham Meeting became extinct before the middle of the eighteenth century, and by its close the Meeting House had been removed. The land still belongs to the Society.—Visited 9th May, 1911.

Extracts from the *Inventory* of Montgomeryshire and from that of Radnorshire have already appeared in THE JOURNAL (vol. xi. pp. 106, 190). GEO. EYRE EVANS.

Notes on the History of the Site of the Bull and Mouth Meeting House, London, 1352:1887

IT is interesting to learn that not alone the present headquarters of the Society in England—Devonshire House—but also the old City premises once in Friends' tenancy—the Bull and Mouth—had been in possession of noble families.

The Earls of Northumberland, in the fourteenth century, had a town house in the parish of St. Martins le Grand, a house which was ransacked in the same century in consequence of the Earl's championship of John Wycliff (died 1384).

In 1403, Northumberland House, on the death and attainder of Sir Henry Percy, came into the hands of Henry IV. In the next century, in 1557, the Percys were once more in possession of Northumberland House, or, as sometimes styled, Northumberland Place. In 1607, Henry, the ninth Earl, sold the entire property for £1,000.

During the reign of James I., the "King's Printing House" was situate at Northumberland House, and here Robert Barker printed his famous Bible of 1611. Shortly after, the premises were converted into a tavern—the celebrated "Bull and Mouth," first mentioned, under the style of "The Mouth," in 1630.

In 1654, a portion of this property came into the occupation of London Friends, the Meeting House therein accommodating one thousand persons. The house was destroyed by the Great Fire and subsequently rebuilt. Friends gave up possession in 1740, and it is said that they were succeeded by a congregation of Sandemanians.

As with Devonshire House, so with "The Bull and Mouth," various religious bodies shared possession of it. In 1842 the French Protestant Church was domiciled in part of the old Northumberland House.

In 1887, the hostelry, which had been rebuilt in 1830, was torn down, giving place to new buildings for the General Post Office. Towards the close of its existence it had become known as "The Queen's Hotel."

The above valuable information has been extracted from a pamphlet entitled, *A City Church Chronicle*, by William McMurray, also referred to under "Friends in Current Literature."

A German officer who was in the last war found it necessary, while in France, to get his watch mended, which was done by a French watch-maker. A few weeks ago the same watch was again repaired, and behind the dial-plate was found scratched the words [in French] "France will take revenge, Prussia shall be razed to the ground, 20 March, 1871."

Extract from the diary of a Friend visiting Germany in 1875.

I have thought since I came to this Land of saluting you my much loved & esteemed Friends . . . feeling at different times my mind drawn towards you by what seem'd to me a degree of spiritual attraction—a small thread of which in its genuine purity is better than a cart rope of partialities & unsanctified affections.

From a letter of Sarah (Tuke) Grubb to Richard and Patience Chester, dated "Dublin, 11th mth 10th 1785." In D.

"The Life of Robert Spence Watson"

THE Right Hon. Robert Spence Watson (1837-1911) came of sound Northumbrian stock, several generations of his ancestry inhabiting the valley through which flows the East Allen. In Foxian days his forbears became Quakers, Anthony Watson suffering for his faith, in 1660, in the jails of Hexham and Morpeth. In 1694 Anthony Watson, of Huntwell, was in detention for non-payment of tithe. Joshua Watson (1772-1853) migrated from Allendale to Newcastle in 1803. His son, Joseph (1807-1874), father of R. S. Watson, "on his seventy-eighth birthday, crossed the High Level Railway Bridge (then in course of construction) from Gateshead to Newcastle, walking part of the way on planks, and was told at the Newcastle side by Robert Stephenson that he was the first man who had done so." So relates Percy Corder in his *Life of Robert Spence Watson*, his uncle, just published by Headley Brothers (9 by 6½, pp. 327, 10s. 6d. net.). On his mother's side, Spence Watson was a descendant of the Spence family of North Shields, the possessors of the original MSS. of *The Journal of George Fox*. His maternal grandfather was Robert Spence who had married a daughter of Robert Foster of Hebblethwaite Hall, near Sedbergh, Yorks. Robert Foster was a friend of Wordsworth. Although brought up in a Quaker household, young Foster was attracted by the glamour of a naval career and became Commander of several vessels. When home on leave in August, 1779, he attended the Meeting House at Lancaster, the event being thus described by the then Vicar of that town:

"Last Sunday, the Quakers at their meeting house were thrown into a state of great surprise by the appearance of a young man in the uniform of a lieutenant of a man-of-war. I hope he will earn preferment and be a credit to the place; as well as an example to some others of that Society to break through the principle established by them to enjoy all the advantages of peace, but to leave it to others to fight their battles." The Vicar's hope was not realized, for Foster soon left the Navy and became a man of peace (page 19).

The above incident forms the subject of an etching by Robert Spence, of London, reproduced in the book, the scene being laid in the old Meeting House at Brigflatts, near Sedbergh.

Of the same Robert Foster it is recorded¹ that when offered an umbrella one rainy morning after Meeting, he replied, "I am obliged to thee. I despise them."

The above extracts represent some of the Quakeriana of this handsome volume—the whole record of a life varied and valuable forms most interesting reading. The chapter on the Friends' War Victims' Fund is apposite to the present time. There are several portraits.

¹ Quoted by Percy Corder from Mrs. Boyce's *Richardsons of Cleveland*.

The Last Words of Robert Barrow

ROBERT BARROW (-1697) was a waller and minister, of Kendal. He travelled extensively in the British Islands and American Colonies. See *F.P.T.* 261.

The following account of the closing scenes of his life is taken from the Minutes of London Y.M. 1698:

"An Accot from Pensilvania concerning R^t Barrow and Rob^t Wardells^t Travells and Exercises and great Hardships and dangers they Endured Read, giving an Accot y^t Rob^t Barrow Travelled till he had holes in his feet & was left behind, but after gote to them again and gote Strength in his Travells. Afterwards R^t Barrow was taken sick of the flux & in his Weakness declared his heart was strong, his Memory mind and Understanding good and the Lord was with him, and his presence attended him, and Cautioned ffrids^s not to consent to the settlem^t of the Worlds Teachers among y^m nor to Touch with the Malitia but stand Cleare and y^e Lord would be with them, and y^t he had been with him and supported him, and of his being a prison^r seven Times. Exhorted ffrinds to love one another, to meet often together and Added neither Gould or Silver nor any Earthly things could have prevailed with him to have left his wife, w^{ch} was Gods Gift to him and he was Gods Gift to her, and he only left her in obeidance to the Lord, and his last words were God is good."

The Cambridge "Journal of George Fox"

Continued from vol. xi., p. 131

44.—Vol. I., p. 1.—The Bretlands were staunch Parliamentarians and Nonconformists. Martin Bretland was Mayor of Chesterfield in 1608-9, and Reginald Bretland in 1645, while Thomas Bretland presided

' Robert Wardell, a Sunderland man, died in Jamaica, 1696. See THE JOURNAL, x.

over the town's affairs in 1647. The name Bretland is not found in the list of Vicars.

The Mayor of Chesterfield before whom Fox appeared was Ralph Clark.

Information supplied by George Lee, of Spital, Chesterfield.

45.—Vol. II., p. 331.—Elizabeth J. Satterthwaite in her *Records of Collhouse Burial Ground*, 1914, writes of Reginald Holme (p. 31):

"Reginald or Regnald Holme and his wife Jane lived at Loughrigg. He was buried in 1692. Miss Armitt (*Church of Grasmere*, p. 198) describes him as 'a turbulent character, little fitted to belong to the peace-loving sect.' His name frequently appears in the Indictment Book of the Quarter Sessions, and generally in connection with secular disputes. He owned the mill at Skelwith Bridge, where there is an exceptionally fine flow of water, and he built a dam or weir across the river to the damage, it was said, of the pathway above, and of his neighbour's land. This dam was a recurring bone of contention and led him into fierce conflicts."

46.—Vol. II., p. 105.—A recent publication has thrown more light on the "two frends Imprisoned to death (viz.) Sam: Sands & one Parkamoore." E. J. Satterthwaite, in her *Records of Collhouse Burial Ground*, quoting W. C. Braithwaite, points out (p. 38) that in Besse's *Sufferings* (ii. 311) there is a note of the death of John Satterthwaite and Samuel Sandys, prisoners on account of tithe in 1663, which agrees with the statements in the *Camb. Jul.* (ii. 48) that "2 are dead being prisoners for tithes" among the thirteen from Hawkshead—the two being further mentioned (ii. 105), as "Sam: Sands & one Parkamoore."

Now the compiler of the above-mentioned *Records* states that Parkamoore as a *personal* name is not found in the Furness district, but that there is a *place*, "a lonely farm on the hills between Esthwaite and Coniston" (p. 58) known by that name, also that, curiously, in the Parish Register, under date "1663 January 12th," there is recorded the burial of "John Satterthwaite de Parkeamoore." If this Satterthwaite is the same as the Friend mentioned above, we may hazard the suggestion that in some way the information recorded by the writer of this portion of *The Journal* was faulty, and that the text should have read: "Sam: Sands & one Satterthwaite of Parkamoore." This information appears on a separate leaf, not numbered in with the manuscript of *The Journal*, though written by the same hand as the narrative portion of *The Journal*. Perhaps Thomas Lower, in copying this sheet from some earlier document, accidentally omitted the two words "Satterthwaite of."

Two West Country Friends and the Monmouth Rebellion

At the monethly meeting at Taunton the 12th $\frac{2}{mo}$ 1686 present at the same Jasper Batt Tho^s Combe Arthur Jeffrie John Powell Hen Alloway Thomas Wolfrey Gilb^t Williams W^m Alloway Jr Geo. Worral Matt. Perin.

HELLIER, JOHN.—That John Hellier of Mark be visited by Friends who took up Armes in the late Insurrection contrary to the principle of trueth & also have bin often found to break his promise in paym^t of moneys that he may come to the sense of his iniquity & true penance for the same, that the trueth may be cleared of the scandal & reproach thereby cast upon it. And its referd to Arthur Jeffries [Peter] Goold and Richard Goold or some of them or any other faithful friends in the love of God to visite him and give an acc^t at the next monethly meeting.

SCOTT, FRANCIS.—That Francis Scott be visited for his appeareance in the late Insurrection that he manifest his true penance for such Acting contrary to the trueth & give forth a testimony for [the cleansing] of truth from the reproach thereby cast upon it And it be referd to Thomas Coombs John Powell, & Will^m Calbreath in the love of God to visite him accordingly & an acco^t at the next monethly

Att the Monthly meeting at Taunton the 14th $\frac{1}{mo}$ 1691 [1692].
being present

John Cruse
Thomas Woolfrey
Robert Liddon
Robert Button

W^m Calbreath
John Alloway
Christop^r Devonsheir Jr
Amos Sedgberry.

* * * * *

Francis Scott being visited by Friends touching taking up of Arms in the time of Monmouth he sent his acknowledgm^t of his fault therein in writing under his hand a copy whereof is as followeth :

“ For Friends at the Monthly Meeting at Taunton.

“ Dear Friends. Concerning my taking up of Arms in the time of Monmouth I acknowledge my regret in delaying soe long to endeavour to give Friends satisfaction therein w^{ch} I hope my inability to write may in some measure excuse it. Now this I doe freely acknowledg that whatever my end was I went out of the way of truth w^{ch} I had long made a profession of & acted against the peaceable principall thereof & caused reproach thereunto & grieved the hearts of faithful Friends & soe justly excluded myselfe from the unity thereof & therefore I doe from my heart condemn my action & declare & testifie my sorrow for the same & doe farther testifie that while I was amongst them I was under a very great weight & burden & I doe for ever desire to prize the Love & Mercy of God to me in soe wonderfully preserving my Life & delivering me out of that snare & that I may never forget the same but dwell in the Remem-

brance thereof & that the Remainder of my dayes may be answerable thereunto & this I desire Friends to Receive from me as the true sence of my heart though not able by word or writing so to express the same with out the assistance of a friend herein in Testmony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my hand the 12th of ¹¹/_{mo} 169¹/₂.

FRANCIS SCOTT.

Copied from the Minute Book of West Somerset M.M. by Thomas R. Thompson, of Bridgwater.

A Pass to Attend Meeting

County Tippy By one of his Magesties Justices of the Peace for
sd Co To Witt

Permit Joseph Grubb Benj & his Sister Anne Grubb to pass unmolested from Clonmel to Limerick, & to return again, within the space of one week from the date here of.

Clonmell July 12th 1798

RICH^d JONES

To R. T. WILSON 15th Regt R. Ld. A.D.C.
All Concern'd.

From MS. in possession of J. Ernest Grubb, of Carrick-on-Suir.

London Yearly Meeting, 1715, on Dress

That all friends both Male and Female, be carefull that their adorning be that of a Meek and Quiet Spirit, which in the Sight of God is of Great price, even as the Holy Men and Women of old (professing Godlyness with Good Works,) were adorned, oh that our Young Men and Women would follow their examples! But to our great grief we find too many of our Young Men, instead of observing that Gospel exhortation, to be soberminded, have given way to Lightness, and Vanity, and the pernicious Effects thereof have lead them in to Pride so y^t some have Cutt off good Heads of Haire, and put on long Extravagant and Gay Wiggs, w^{ch} they that are not of profession wth Us, see, as a Mark of Declension from our Primitive plainness.

And likewise that our young Women would cease from that unseemly and Immodest appearance of their High heads, and Wearing their Gowns set up like the Proud ffashion-Mongers of y^e World; certainly both Males & ffemales, who take such undue Measures, flee the Cross of Christ, & if they do not Repent and Return, they will thereby suffer Great Loss. But in y^e Bowells of Christian Compassion We Warn and Exhort all such to come into that subjection that y^e Yoke of Christ may be their delight and their souls may reap y^e comfortable fruits of bearing y^e same.

Questions on George Fox's Journal

FOR the Bachelor of Divinity Honours Examination in the University of London, books illustrating some epoch of Church History are prescribed in advance. For 1911 and 1912 one of these books was *The Journal of George Fox*, and we think, despite their belated appearance here, the questions that were set to candidates who had studied the book, will have an interest for our readers.

A. KEMP BROWN.

We have appended to the quotations from *The Journal* references to the Eighth edition.

B.D. HONOURS, 1911.

GEORGE FOX'S JOURNAL.

[Not more than four questions to be attempted.]

1. Give some account of the persecutions of the early Quakers, and suggest reasons for the hostility shown towards them.
2. Explain the main principles of Fox's religious teaching.
3. What light is thrown by the *Journal* on
 - (a) popular superstitions, (b) conditions of travel, (c) the treatment of prisoners, (d) the conduct of Church worship, during this period?
4. Give some account of the activity of Fox and his disciples outside of England.
5. Consider the social and political features of the early Quaker movement.
6. Give some account of Fox's writings. Examine the claim of the *Journal* to be regarded as "a religious classic."
7. Comment on the following:—

(a) This plain discovery of darkness in the priest moved Judge Fell and Colonel West to . . . tell them that according to that position they might carry the Spirit in their pockets, as they did the Scriptures. [i. 139.]

(b) The Lord had given me a spirit of discerning, by which I many times saw the states and conditions of people, and could try their spirits. [i. 165.]

(c) Afterwards a Friend stood up and told him how he had sued him for tithe eggs, and other Friends for other tithes; for he was an Anabaptist preacher, and yet had a parsonage at Leominster, and had several journeymen under him. [i. 371.]

(d) To this the Jesuit made this reply: "Take," said he, "a piece of new cloth, and cut it into two pieces, and make two garments of it; and put one of them upon King David's back, and the other upon a beggar's, and the one garment shall wear away as well as the other." "Is this thy answer?" said I. "Yes," said he. [i. 431.]

(e) On this insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy men, great havoc was made both in city and country, so that it was dangerous for sober people to stir abroad for several weeks after. [i. 493.]

(f) Many Friends were . . . imprisoned in London and other towns, for opening their shop-windows on holidays and fast-days (as they were called), and for bearing testimony against all such observations of days. [ii. 204.]

B.D. HONOURS, 1912.

FOX'S JOURNAL.

[Not more than four questions to be attempted.]

1. Trace the growth of Quakerism from the first preaching of Fox down to the Restoration.
2. "The Quaker movement, though it grew out of Puritanism, yet emphasized a different principle." Discuss this, and account for the hostility of many of the Puritans towards the Quakers.
3. Illustrate the methods of Fox as an evangelist. Compare them with those of Wesley and Whitefield.
4. Give some account of the worship, discipline, and organization of the early Quakers.
5. Illustrate Fox's attitude in respect of the manners, amusements, and serious pursuits of contemporary society.
6. Comment on the following :—

(a) After I had reproved them for their blasphemous expressions, I went away, for I perceived they were Ranters. [i. 48.]

(b) Then the priest out with his Bible, and said it was the word of God. I told him it was the words of God, but not God the Word. [i. 157.]

(c) Divers times, both in the time of the Long Parliament, and of the Protection (so-called), and of the Committee of Safety, when they proclaimed fasts, I was moved to write to them, and tell them, their fasts were like unto Jezebel's. [i. 438.]

(d) But as soon as we heard of it, Edward Burrough went to the king and told him, "There was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which, if it were not stopped, would overrun all." To which the king replied, "But I will stop that vein." [i. 507.]

(e) Being in London, it came upon me to write to Friends throughout the nation, about "putting out poor children to trades." [ii. 119.]

(f) "Why will you not be content to partake both of Christ's promise to two or three, and the king's indulgence to four?" [ii. 126.]

(g) The judge said there was tithe paid in England before Popery was; I asked him by what law or statute they were paid then; but he was silent. [ii. 356.]

When the Church arrives at the place of true prayer, her habitation is safe.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

John Bright on a Friends' Funeral

WHILE in the main Bright carefully prepared his orations, he could on occasion deliver an effective extempore speech. He seems to have delivered two such speeches on the Burials Bill—one in 1875, and one in 1880; both produced a profound effect upon the House of Commons. His account of a Friends' burial in the former speech was listened to with deep feeling. He said:

"I will take the case of my own sect, and try to draw an argument from that. We have no baptism; we do not think it necessary. We have no service—no ordered and stated service—over the dead. We do not think that necessary. But when a funeral occurs in my sect, the body is borne with as much decency and solemnity as in any other sect or in any other case to the graveside. The coffin is laid by the side of the grave. The family and friends and the mourners stand around, and they are given some time—no fixed time; it may be five minutes or ten, or even longer—for that private and solemn meditation to which the grave invites even the most unthinking and the most frivolous. If any one there feels it his duty to offer any word of exhortation, he is at liberty to offer it. If he feels that he can bow the knee and offer a prayer to Heaven, not for the dead, but for those who stand around the grave, for comfort for the widow or for succour and fatherly care for the fatherless children, that prayer is offered. Well, but if this were done in one of your graveyards—if, for example, such a thing were done there, and a member of my sect, or a Baptist, an Independent, or a Wesleyan came to be interred in one of your graveyards, and if some God-fearing and good man there spoke some word of exhortation, or on his knees offered a prayer to God, is there one of you on this side of the House or on that, or one of your clergymen, or any thoughtful and Christian man connected with your Church, who would dare in the sight of Heaven to condemn that, or to interfere with it by force of law?"

From R. Barry O'Brien's *John Bright*, 1913 ed., pp. 451-453. The speech is referred to but not given in Trevelyan's *Life of John Bright*, p. 413.

Anecdote of Elizabeth Fry

Samuel——, an Irish Friend, was at an English Friend's house, and was walking in the garden in company with Elizabeth Fry and her husband. Elizabeth Fry had her hand on the arm of her husband, who caressingly stroked it and asked: "Samuel, did you admire my wife's hand in Ireland?" The reply was: "We saw so much to admire that we did not descend to particulars."

From THOS. HY. WEBB'S MS. *Collection of Quaker Stories*.

Friends in Current Literature

Most of the Friends' books published by Headley Brothers, London, may be obtained through Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East Twentieth Street, New York, N.Y.

JN *The Pedigree Register* for September last (London: 227, Strand, W.C., 2s. 6d. net, or 10s. 6d. for the year), edited by George Sherwood, there appears a copy of the contents of Sir Joseph Williamson's *Spy Book*, now in the Public Record Office, London (State Papers Misc. Dom. and Foreign No. 26). There are several references to Friends—the article is headed "Some Nonconformist Ministers and Quakers in 1662-3." The *Spy Book* was noted in *THE JOURNAL* ix. 160, at the time when the contents of the book appeared in the "Transactions of the Cong. Hist. Soc.," v. 243ff.

There is a sketch of the family of Unsworth of Milnsbridge, Yorks., in the *Huddersfield Examiner*, weekly ed., 7 Nov., and a portrait of our Friend, Walker Unsworth, its present representative, who is in his ninetieth year.

The Peace Society and Headley Brothers, London, have brought out a timely extract from "Quaker Campaigns," written by the late William Jones, Hon. Commissioner of the Friends' War Victims Fund in France in 1870-71, with the title: *Reminiscences of the Franco-German War of 1870* (7½ by 5, pp. 96, paper covers 6d., cloth 1s.).

A discovery has recently been made which once more illustrates the mental energy of members of the Society of Friends. A reference appears in the November issue of *The International Sugar Journal* (London: 2, St. Dunstan's Hill, 1s. net), to the Friends' "Quarterly Magazine and Review," London and Bristol, 1832, in which appears an account of the first sugar factory in England, established at Ulting, Essex, by James and Robert Marriage. This from the *Quarterly*, p. 275, "A desire to obtain the best information, and to promote the abolition of slavery, by producing an article of free labour, lately induced several young men of Essex, members of the Society of Friends, to visit France, and qualify themselves for establishing a sugar manufactory in that county."

A company was formed—Marriage, Reed and Marriage—and buildings fitted up at a cost of about £2,000. The factory is said to have stopped "through lack of capital."

The London Meeting for Sufferings manifesto "To Men and Women of Good Will" appeared in full in *The Evening Post*, New York, Wednesday, November 4. It is introduced by the words: "In accordance with the request of many readers in this country and abroad, the *Evening Post* publishes . . ."

A City Church Chronicle is the title of a short history of the Parishes of St. Anne and St. Agnes, Aldersgate, and of St. John Zachary, London, from the Twelfth Century, compiled in 365 numbered paragraphs, by William McMurray, Clerk of the United Parishes (from the Author at Harwood House, Effie Road, The Broadway, Walham Green, S.W., for 1s. 3d. post free). Extracts from this attractive and useful Chronicle are printed elsewhere (page 30); the following are other Quakerly notices:

"No. 194. During the persecution of the Quakers an interesting yet tragic occurrence is recorded in connection with the 'Bull and Mouth,' then, as we have seen, partly occupied as a 'Friends' Meeting.' The bodies of two deceased members of the Society, who had died prisoners in Newgate, were forcibly removed from the meeting-house and interred in St. Anne's churchyard at midnight on 10th September, 1664, under the authority of a warrant from the Lord Mayor. The meeting is recorded to have been raided under the Conventicle Act no fewer than twenty-one times during the course of this year."

"No. 268. A remarkable instance of originality in the bestowal of a Christian name occurs in St. Anne's registers in the same year (1725), when 'Quaquoriana Taylor, a Foundling,' was baptised on November 17th, being buried on the 9th December following. The child had been taken up in the passage leading to the Friends' meeting-house at the 'Bull and Mouth,' a circumstance which led to the name, obviously a feminine derivative of 'Quaker.'"

Headley Brothers have brought out a brochure of fifty pages, written by William E. Wilson, B.D., author of "Christ and War," entitled *Atonement and Non-resistance*—an Attempt to Show why the Death of Christ was necessary; and a Suggestion as to its bearing on Christian ethics. There is a Preface by Dr. H. T. Hodgkin. 6d. net in paper, 1s. net in cloth.

Meetings in celebration of the opening of the new Meeting House at Plainfield, Ind., took place last Fall, September 19-21, when a dedicatory address was given by Joseph J. Mills, General Secretary of the Five Years Meeting. A *Souvenir Programme* has been issued and a copy has been deposited in D., sent by John Kendall, Mooresville, Ind. It contains pictures of the old Meeting House of 1858 (the year of the establishment of Western Y.M.), and of the new House, also vignettes of many Friends of note—Barnabas C. Hobbs, "Educator," (1815-1892), Eleazer Bales, "pioneer preacher" (1793-1887), Drusilla Wilson, "Minister and Reformer," (1815-1908) and Martha Wilson, "Minister" (1810-1894). The estimated membership of the Y.M. in 1858 was 5,000, now it is 16,200.

The latest volume of *New Jersey Archives*, second series, vol. iv., 1914, deals with "Documents relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey, as extracted from American newspapers,

November 1, 1779, to September 30, 1780 (Trenton, N.J., 9 by 6, pp. viii. + 738). There is only slight reference to Friends, but the book abounds with subjects of interest—notice of runaway slaves and apprentices, conflicts with Indians, sales of men and things, views on the Revolutionary war, etc.—The Index consists of 120 columns.

The Church's Opportunity in the Present Crisis, by Henry T. Hodgkin, has been recently published by Headley Brothers, 16 pp., price 2d.

One of the latest literary efforts of our departed Friend, Henry W. Wilbur, of Philadelphia, was a study of President Lincoln and Slavery, entitled, *President Lincoln's Attitude towards Slavery and Emancipation*, with a Review of Events before and since the Civil War (Phila., Pa.: Jenkins, 140 N. 15th St., 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 220, \$1.25). The story of the visit to Lincoln in 1861 of Isaac and Sarah Harvey, of Ohio, is mentioned as given in the Author's "Friends with Lincoln in the White House." The following occurs on p. 188: "As Lincoln made his last speech from the White House porch, his little son Tad stood by him. In the course of his remarks, the President said, 'What shall we do with the rebels?' A voice from the crowd shouted, 'Hang them!' Tad looked at his father and remarked, 'No, papa, not hang them, but hang on to them!' Mr. Lincoln replied, 'Tad has it, we must hang on to them.'"

The report of the proceedings of the Llandudno Conference of Friends and others, held 25 to 30 September last, has been issued under the title: *Friends and the War* (London: Headley Brothers, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 146, 1s. net). It contains a review of the proceedings and full reports of a score of the addresses, longer and shorter, delivered at various sittings.

That worthy man and antiquary, Mr. William Richardson, of South Cave, East Yorkshire, has given to the public another book of local history: *Some East Yorkshire Worthies* (Hull: Brown & Sons, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 124, 2s. 6d. net). Chapter II. of nine pages deals with the Quakers and North Cave. "Meetings in the early times were held at Elloughton, North Cave, Shipton, Barnby, Ferriby, Hotham, Sancton, Metham, Brantingham and Sandholme." The records of North Cave M.M. commence in 1669; they are under the care of Hull Friends. There is some reference to William Richardson of North Cave (1624-1679), and to his son John, the missionary (c.1666-1753); also to William Dewsbury (1621-1688), who was a native of Allertorpe, Yorks.

A good story is told of Christopher Nesse, M.A., the Ejected Minister of Leeds (born at North Cave in 1621, died in London in 1705): "Going one Christmas day with one of his hearers to pay some visits on the members of the congregation, a good woman brought out a great Yorkshire goose-pie for the entertainment of her visitors. Mr. Nesse's friend

For his previous work: *A History of Withernsea*, see THE JOURNAL, ix. 70.

objected to the dish as savouring of superstition. 'Well, then, brother,' said Mr. Nesse, 'if these be walls of superstition, let us pull them down,' and immediately set about the work of demolition."

The Brown and White is the name of a new paper "of interest to Westtown and its friends." It is published bi-weekly by the students of Westtown School, Pa. By mail, \$1.00 per year.

From the well known press of John Bellows, of Gloucester, appears a reprint, from the Boston (Mass.) edition of 1897, of William Penn's *Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe*, first printed in 1693. It is prefaced by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, of the Highlands, New Barnet, Herts. (Gloucester, Bellows, 8½ by 5½, pp. 20. Twopence.)

Our Friend, Joseph Barcroft, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.S., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, has issued, through the Cambridge University Press, a volume of over three hundred pages in royal octavo, illustrated, entitled, *The Respiratory Function of the Blood*.

Two short stories by Constance Smedley [Constance Armfield] have been published by Headley Brothers at sixpence net each—*The Fruit of her Hands* and *The Ways of her Household*. The background of both stories is laid in this country and Germany during the present war, and in a very readable manner the stories inculcate principles of peace and goodwill.

The Report for 1913 of Sir George Newman, as Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education, to the President of the Board, the Right Hon. Joseph Albert Pease, M.P., is issued (London: Wyman & Sons; U.S.A., etc., per T. Fisher Unwin, London, W.C., 9¼ by 6, pp. 366, price one shilling and eightpence). All interested in education should have this valuable compendium within reach for study and reference.

The service to historical study rendered by anniversaries has again been illustrated by the publication of the proceedings of the *Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of London Grove Meeting by the Society of Friends at London Grove, Pennsylvania, Tenth Month, Third, 1914* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Jane P. Rushmore, 140 N. 15th Street, 9¼ by 7, pp. 127, illustrated). Here are numerous most useful papers by Emma Taylor Lamborn, Davis H. Forsythe, O. Edward Janney, Isaac Sharpless, Gilbert Cope and others.

A critique of the Friends' Manifesto with reference to the war appears in *The Faith and the Flock* for December (London: Partridge, one penny). It draws attention to "a fundamental misconception, from a Christian point of view, of the general position of men and nations as regards themselves and God, and secondly upon that part of the manifesto

which deals with the future outlook." A strong peace view is taken in a letter, printed here, in answer to an editorial of earlier issue—e.g., "If I kill a man upon the battlefield, and he is unconverted, I hasten a soul to a lost eternity."

The editorship of *The Annual Monitor* has fallen from the hands of Francis A. Knight and has been taken up by Joseph J. Gill of Newcastle-on-Tyne. The little volume has appeared once more, and may be obtained from John Bellows, Gloucester, or Headley Brothers, London, at one shilling and sixpence.

All for a Scrap of Paper is the title of the latest novel by Joseph Hocking (London and New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 7½ by 5, pp. 255, 2s. net). A reviewer of this book describes it "as an attempt to put into the form of fiction the views of the average Free Churchman—a hater of war—towards the present struggle." The father of Bob Nancarrow, a Quaker, then dead, had strongly impressed upon his son's mind such a view of the un-Christian character of war that at first Bob resolutely refused to enlist, but under various influences, well set out in the book, he altered his view of things. Writing to his mother—a scion of the Cornish house of Trelawney—he tells her (p. 146):

"If I had enlisted when you wanted me to, I should have been no good. I should have been feeling all the time that I was not doing right. . . . Now everything is different. I am eager to be in the thick of it. I am just longing to be at those Germans. Not that I have anything against the German people, but I want to help to kill the system that has gripped them body and soul. It seems that nothing but war will cut out this poisonous cancer of militarism, and it is the call of God to cut it out."

And again he tells us (p. 236):

"War is hell; still I have no doubt about my duty. The God of War must be killed, and this menace to the peace of Europe must be destroyed. It is a divine call, and I must fight to make war impossible."

After brave deeds at the front, Bob returns wounded to hospital. Here he meets an American, come over to see war at first hand, who thus expresses himself (p. 238):

"I would rather see all nationalities cease than that war should continue. Let's all sheathe our swords and trust in God. . . . I am going back to America and I am going to rouse the whole country to this feeling. It may be that this is because I have Quaker blood in my veins. I am afraid I am not worthy of my Quaker forbears, but now I am convinced that they are right." "Yes," replied Bob, "I, too, have Quaker blood in my veins, and I too am convinced in my heart they are right." "And still you are a soldier?" "Yes, I am a soldier until this war is over."

There is no hint throughout the book of *alternative* service for the country under war conditions, as much needed and as worthy of whole-hearted devotion as fighting on the battlefield.

NORMAN PENNEY.

Supplement No. 12—Elizabeth Hooton

BEFORE this notice reaches the readers of THE JOURNAL, Supplement No. 12 (for 1914) will have reached subscribers. A glance at this Supplement, and a comparison with previous Lives of this first Quaker Woman Preacher, will illustrate the remarkable advance of knowledge during the last few years owing to the exploitation of ancient sources of information. Emily Manners has made full use of ancient documents in her 100-page Life of Elizabeth Hooton, and presents to the reader many very striking records of persecution and earnest effort.

The book is provided with eight illustrations, and a full Bibliography and Index. It can be obtained from any bookseller, through Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, London, or Friends' Book and Tract Committee, East 20th Street, New York City, price four shillings and sixpence, or one dollar fifteen cents, net.

Supplement No. 13

SOME years ago there was discovered in a dark corner of one of the fireproof vaults at Devonshire House, London, a parcel, covered in brown paper, and marked "Ancient Epistles." The package proved, on examination, to contain some 250 original letters of early Friends, ranging in date from 1654 to 1688. There was evidence, in the handwriting of Abram Rawlinson Barclay (-1845) that he had worked on these papers, doubtless in connection with the preparation of his book, *Letters, etc., of Early Friends*, published in 1841, and, more recently, Joseph Smith must have seen the parcel, when cataloguing MSS., for in his "MSS. Catalogue" he entered the heading,

"Epistles (Ancient)," leaving half a page for a description, which was never written! But for how long a previous period of years these ancient writings had reposed in a night of neglect cannot now be determined.

This valuable storehouse of historical material, now known as A.R.B. MSS., has been catalogued as to names of writers only, but little use has been made of these letters, owing to the lack of any index to their contents.

The Historical Society now proposes, with the aid of the Library and Printing Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings of London Yearly Meeting, to have this collection copied and printed, *verb. et lit.*, as Supplements to its *Journal*. Supplement No. 13 will probably contain some eighty of these letters with brief introductions and annotations.

The interest and support of our readers is requested in this proposal to throw further light upon the heroic period of Quakerism. Supplement No. 13 will be issued as this year's Supplement. The subscription price is three shillings (75 cents); after publication the price will be four shillings and sixpence (\$1.15). Subscribers should send their contributions to Norman Penney, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Peggy Abbott was a well-known elderly Friend who resided in Cork. She travelled to Limerick to attend the Quarterly Meeting and arrived late on a winter's evening at a Friend's house much fatigued from her journey. She knocked at the door, which, however, was not opened, but a head was thrust out of an upper window and a voice demanded: "Who is there?" There was at that time a family in Limerick named Greer, some of whose youthful members were notorious for their practical jokes. In response to the above question, Peggy Abbot said: "I'm Peggy Abbott from Cork, come to stay with thee during the Quarterly Meeting." "Peggy Abbott indeed!" said the voice from the window, "I know very well who thee is—Johnny Greer." "I'm very tired and cold after my long journey from Cork. I am Peggy Abbott, please let me in." "Peggy Abbott, indeed!" reiterated the voice from above in tones of scorn: "Thee won't take me in again, go home to thee mother, Johnny Greer."

From Thomas Henry Webb's MS. *Collection of Quaker Stories*.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D.—The Reference Library of London Y.M., at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Cambr. Jnl.—*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

F.P.T.—“*The First Publishers of Truth*,” published by the Friends Historical Society, 1907.

H.S.P.—The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, located at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

JOHN GREEN (xi. 184).—J. J. Green, of Hastings, sends further information respecting the writer of the letter to John Abraham. He was the only surviving child of the marriage of Thomas Greene, of New House, Liversedge, Yorks (1654/5-1714), with Martha Hardisty, of Sheriff Hutton, Yorks. He was born 12th of June, 1689, the death of his mother occurring three days later. A melancholy interest attaches to his letter, as above, in which he writes of Rotterdam as “a very unhealthfull place,” for he himself was taken ill there and departed this life less than a month from the date of his letter. He died at Rotterdam, 4th of January, 1709/10, and was buried there on the 7th.

JOSEPH TATHAM'S SCHOOL, LEEDS.—William Farrer, Litt. D., Hall Garth, Carnforth, Lancs., has kindly sent for preservation in D. “A Catalogue of Boarders who were at Joseph Tatham's School, Camp Lane Court, Leeds, during my apprenticeship; that is, from the 17th of Tenth Month, 1810, to the 17th of Tenth Month, 1817, inclusive,” compiled by William Ecroyd. W. Ecroyd (1796-1876) lived at Lomeshaye,

near Burnley, Lancs. There is a long account of him in *The Annual Monitor* for 1877, in which it is stated that he left Leeds in 1815, not 1817 as above.

JERSEY MEETING HOUSE, 1860.—Extract from a letter from Edward Corder, of Ipswich (1798-1861), to his niece, Maria Thorp, at Darlington, whose mother was for many years housekeeper for Edward Pease (d. 1858):

“Jersey, 9 mo. 14. 1860.

“Tell thy mother I have been three times to the Meeting of our body, held in a stifling little back kitchen, fitted up with a kitchen cooking range and draws and cupboards. The attendants are few in number and want to know about strangers. When giving my name, upon being asked, they wished to know if I was related to Susanna Corder, and when I told them I was her only brother, they looked upon me as a prodigy, being connected with such a wonderful woman.”

It is satisfactory to know that Jersey Friends no longer meet in “a stifling little back kitchen.” In 1872, the late Arthur Pease built a very nice Meeting House and presented it to the Society.

WOOLLEN WAISTCOATS FOR TROOPS, 1745.—The following is taken from Longstaff's *Darlington*, 1854 edition, p. 158ff:

"1745. The loyalty of the Friends in Darlington was very remarkable at the time of the rebellion. On receiving intelligence that the Duke of Cumberland was coming from the south at a wintry time when the weather was severe, and by some means hearing that the soldiers were badly clothed, and lacking a sufficiency of creature comforts, they in a most praiseworthy manner set to work and manufactured a great number of flannel waistcoats, which were ready for the poor men on their arrival at Darlington." A footnote adds: "The Friends furnished 10,000 woollen waistcoats in four or five days at their own expense. They were made to double over the breast and belly, under the soldiers' own clothing."

Information from John William Steel, of Darlington.

EDWARD PEASE (1767-1858) of Darlington is credited with the story that his father, Joseph Pease (1737-1808), went into the Green Tree Field, behind the Friends' Burial Ground, where the Hessian troops were encamped, and heard the fife for the first time, in 1745.

Information from John William Steel, of Darlington.

BIOGRAPHIES OF SAMUEL CATER, JONATHAN GURNELL AND JOSEPH MARKES GREEN.—Typed copies of biographies of four Friends, prepared by Joseph J. Green, of Hastings, have recently

been added to D.: (i.) Samuel Cater, of Littleport, Isle of Ely (1627-1711), (ii.) Jonathan Gurnell (1684-1753) of London and Ealing, (iii.) Grizell Wilmer, (1692-1756), his wife, and (iv.) Joseph Markes Green (1771-1840) of Bucks and Essex.

"A LOVEING AND OBEDIENT WIFE" (xi.137).—Wm. L. May, of Maydena, Sandford, Tas., writes:

"I notice with interest in your last number (page 137) an extract from the marriage certificate of Robert Wraight and Anna Allay, in which the latter promises to be an 'obedient wife.' This couple were ancestors of mine, and from another ancestral marriage certificate I can furnish you with a second example:

"Frederick Tilney and Abigail Woodward were married in Friends' Meeting House, Norwich, in 1739. The bride says: 'Friends and sober-minded people, I desire you to be my witnesses that in y^e fear of y^e Lord I take this my most esteemed friend Frederick Tilney to be my husband, promising to be unto him a 'loving and faithful and obedient wife,' etc.

"Are many instances known where this expression is used? I suppose the actual words spoken were copied down at the time, as it seems hardly likely such a form would be officially used by any Meeting."

SWARTHMOOR ACCOUNT BOOK.—The whole of the text is now in print, making nearly five hundred octavo pages. Little work has, as yet, been done in the way of annotation or introduction.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

For Table of Contents see page two of cover.

Editors' Notes

MANY members of the Friends Historical Society will have heard of the long and serious illness of the Editor of THE JOURNAL, Norman Penney.

The good wishes of the membership of the Society will follow him with the desire that he may soon be restored to health and be able to resume his duties as Librarian and Editor.

Editors pro tem.

The Annual Meeting of the Friends Historical Society will be held in The Library at Devonshire House, on Fifth-day, the 20th of Fifth Month, at 2 p.m.

On another page of this issue we print the Will of John Bellers, Quaker Philanthropist (1654-1725). It is hoped in the next issue of THE JOURNAL to include an article by Charles R. Simpson, embodying official minutes connected with John Bellers which have been gleaned from many sources.

Sir Frederick Wedmore concerning Robert Charlton

Sir Frederick Wedmore, in the closing chapter of his *Memories*,¹ gives the following interesting account of Robert Charlton²:

"In a Sketch of some of the great English speaking preachers I have had the privilege to listen to, it would have been a folly indeed, much more—it would have seemed to me not loyal—to have left out the name of Robert Charlton.

"In that profound and reverent gravity—and in much besides—David Wright [Incumbent of St. Mary Magdalene, Stoke Bishop] was at one, absolutely, with an occasional, a frequent preacher, whom I think he did not know: an elderly Friend, Robert Charlton, whom I—I am glad to say—had great chances of hearing when I accompanied my Father, driving into Bristol, to the Friends' Meeting House, in Rosemary Street, on Sunday mornings before 1870, and, sometimes, after it. . . . I forget what Robert Charlton was, exactly—I think a manufacturer or merchant, on a scale not large. I am certain that in his secular work Robert Charlton added to the unblemished honour that is exacted of Friends—generally—that which is also of course encouraged, but cannot in the nature of things be exacted, a treatment rather specially kind and generous, of every servant or subordinate with whom he had to do. Between Robert Charlton's daily life in business and his life of the spirit, there was, I am sure, no discord; so that, without difficulty—but fortified no doubt, by thought and reading, and the practice of a charity which began, it may be, but never ended with alms-giving—he came from the affairs of the week into the atmosphere of a Sunday which, with Friends, has at no time been puritanical, into the silence of the Meeting: a silence which is not the barren silence of the superficial but a silence that Maeterlinck has fathomed, and set forth the fruitful depths of, in the first essay in *Le Trésor des Humbles*. Many there are, as Maeterlinck remarks, 'qui n'ont pas le Silence.'

"For a while one would see Robert Charlton—in the Ministers' slightly raised gallery—sitting in reverent quietude. Deeply, more deeply, was he immersed in thought. That was revealed to one, as time passed on, in the workings of his face. His soul was in travail. What was to be the upshot? It might be, he said nothing. Much likelier, however, after some further wrestling, he would remove his hat suddenly; then rise; grasp the firm gallery balustrade, in front of him; and with a countenance altogether inspired, with a voice extraordinarily melodious, pour out the burden of his meditations—of his solitude—of his encouragement—in a spirit that was pure poetry and in a form that was the very best of English prose."

¹ Methuen & Co. [1912].

² Robert Charlton (1809-1872), pin manufacturer in Bristol.

MS. Documents at Cork

THE racy anecdotes culled from Waterford archives, and presented by Ernest Grubb in his Presidential Address at the last Annual Meeting, turned the attention of members of the Council to the little known or exploited store of manuscript evidence in Ireland. It does not seem that much use has ever been made of this, or a great deal written about Irish Friends, beyond what is to be found in John Rutt's *History of the Rise and Progress of Friends in Ireland* (1800).

At the request of our friend Francis C. Clayton, I spent a couple of weeks in Cork in the autumn, and examined the very fine collection preserved in the capacious premises of the Meeting House there. The books are well bound, are stored in a roomy fire-proof safe, and have been catalogued recently by members of the Meeting. They are under the care of Henry H. Beale, the Monthly Meeting Clerk, from whom, during my work at the Meeting House, I received the most kind help, as also from many other Friends of the Meeting.

The premises comprise a large Meeting House, two smaller ones, lobbies, a library, and, fronting on the street, a roomy dwelling-house, with rooms above, let to a Friend. This part was originally used as a day-school, many interesting references to which may be pieced together from the MSS., for later use in THE JOURNAL if desired. The date of the first Meeting House cannot be exactly stated, but in 1677 Friends decided it was "insufficient," and "committed the care of purchasing a plot of ground to build upon" to five Friends, of whom Francis Rogers was one, and they were ordered "to proceed immediately." The sum to be spent on "ffinishing the worke according to the Moddle p̄scribed" was "adjudged by computacon to require £500."

The earlier minutes of Cork Six Weeks Meeting, beginning 28 x.1675, and of the Three Weeks Meeting, dating from 24 iii.1676, are full of interest. They present a very active picture of a colony of merchants, ship

owners and others, many of them prosperous, and all busily engaged in watching over their neighbours, both as to conduct and for opportunities to give advice and help. No one was to suffer poverty or want without assistance from those better off. No one could take a false step, financial or otherwise, without a warning. They seemed ever ready to lend small sums of money to the deserving and thrifty, and to look diligently after the aged or ill, or even those who were in no need of assistance. The earliest minutes are very largely taken up with hearing applications and giving consent to "joyning in marriage in the Order of Truth." The Society must have been large and steadily growing at this time, and although there was a frequent testimony against drunkenness, against marriage by a priest, and against parents giving consent to the marriage of their daughters with "one of the world's people," the constant reiteration against fashions, periwigs, keeping of dogs, drinking tea, and other harmless trifles which later occupied the business meetings, had not then begun.

A wholesome and admirable oversight was kept that integrity in trade and no sweating should prevail. Friends were appointed in 1678 in each Meeting

to speake with y^e friends of the Cloathing or Spinning trade that they take care in all there dealings with spinners & other work folkes, to pay either mony for their worke or Such goods as they shall fully agree for before hand, & to desire if they pay goods it may not be vallewled above y^e Currant price.

As time went on this inquiry into the business affairs of fellow-members became almost inquisitorial, and preoccupation with the internal machinery of their own sect to the exclusion of other matters necessarily resulted in a period of formality fully revealed in the minutes. Many instructive points may, however, be dwelt on, by quoting and putting together short extracts relating to special subjects, as relief of the poor, distribution of Quaker books, conduct in Meeting. The School I have indicated above; the way in which the wars and rebellion affected Friends, and the use of the Meeting House for soldiers, are other topics.

The principal items of the catalogue are given below. The omitted numbers are those of lists of members,

proceedings of various committees, marriage registers, certificates, testimonies and epistles, certificates of removals, account-books, maps, and similar documents preserved in Meeting Archives.

1, 1A, 3A-5	Cork Three Weeks and Six Weeks Meeting	1675-1756
6	" " " " (Women)	1763-1784
7-12	Munster Province Meetings	1694-1798
13	Charleville Men's Meeting	1698-1720
14	Bandon " "	1677-1700
15, 16	Quarterly Meetings	1798-1865
17	Yearly Meetings	1798-1839
19-21	Provincial School Committee Proceedings	1796-1855
22	Historical Narrative of Ministers' Visits	1708-1871
23, 24	Account of Sufferings, Munster Province	1750-1863
29	Provincial Register of Families	1655-1868
37	Record of Friends Travelling in Ireland	1664-1765
46	Provincial Female Bounty Fund	1775-1833
53-56	Cork Monthly Meeting	1807-1885
57, 57½, 58	" " " (Rough)	1826-1874
59	Cork Preparative Meeting	1839-1872
60	" " " (Rough)	1855-1872
65	Sundry Proceedings, Bandon Meeting	1680-1714
68	Letter from Prince William, afterwards King William IV., to Friends in Cork	1787

Isabel Yeamans

ALL fresh information coming to light about the Fells of Swarthmoor Hall is sure of a welcome, for that remarkable family of noble Quaker women, Margaret Fell and her seven daughters, always remained the ideal example of a seventeenth century Puritan household of means and education, birth and good breeding. Their industrial and economic activity at home was quite as remarkable as their evangelical campaigning at large.

While recently examining the records of Munster Province, at Cork, I came upon facts which throw a sidelight on a point in the life of one of the seven, which so far as I know has never figured in their history.

Isabel, the third daughter of Judge Thomas and Margaret Fell, of Swarthmoor Hall, near Ulverston, in 1664 married William Yeamans, or Yeoman, a merchant of Bristol.¹ He was then aged twenty-five, while his wife was about twenty-three. About the time of the marriage, Margaret Fell, who had then been six years a widow, was committed to Lancaster Gaol for permitting meetings to be held in her house, and for refusing to discontinue them. With only one short visit home at the end of nineteen months, she was kept at Lancaster in a damp, noisome cell for four years. It is possible, therefore, that the first visit she was able to pay Isabel in her new home at Bristol was in the late summer of 1669, when an important epoch in her life occurred. George Fox arrived from Ireland (whither he had gone on his release from Lancaster Gaol) and his marriage to Margaret Fell, the friend and co-worker of many years, was accomplished. In his own words :

I had seen for a considerable time before that I should take M.F. to be my wife. And when I first mentioned it to her she felt the answer of life from God thereunto. But I had not received a command from the Lord for the accomplishment of it then. . . . Being at Bristol and finding her there, it opened in me from the Lord that the thing should be accomplished.

By his wish she sent for her children and her sons-in-law, and asked them if they had anything against it. All asserted that their mother had performed her husband's will to them, and they would not lose by her second marriage. They desired George "to speak no more of it." "I told them," he says, "I was plain and would have all things plainly, for I sought not any outward advantage to myself." In the Men's Meeting, when permission was given to proceed, Isabel Yeamans said "I have long desired to see it accomplished, and now rejoice in its accomplishing." The marriage took place from Isabel's house, and the certificate was signed by six of the seven daughters and three sons-in-law, who were all present. The absent daughter was Bridget Draper.

¹ Son of Robert and Ann Yeamans. The father, Royalist sheriff of Bristol, was hanged by the Parliamentary party in 1643, in front of his own house, for being implicated in a movement for delivering the city to Prince Rupert. *Camb. Jnl.* i. 464.

The tie that already subsisted between the family at Swarthmoor and the man who had been coming and going in their household since 1652 (six years before Judge Fell's death) was a very strong one. The daughters invariably speak of him in letters as "dear and honoured father," and Isabel, at least, was still more closely associated with him in travel. She seems to have possessed a gift in the ministry, and to have visited Meetings in England to some extent, although the care of a delicate husband and children in her short married life cannot have left her much opportunity for public service. At any rate, in May, 1670, she is named in the Information of a gentleman of Whitby, taken upon oath before Sir Thomas Gower, Bart., a Justice of the Peace in the North Riding of Yorkshire, as having been present at a conventicle or meeting at Whitby, held in "a house bought and erected by the quakers."²

She is mentioned by Besse as one of "those women of excellent endowments, adorned with all the Virtues of that sex, very serviceable to the church in the office of the ministry, for which they were peculiarly gifted and esteemed by their Brethren as Fellow-helpers in the work of the Gospel of Christ," who "at the hazard of their Estates, Liberties and Lives continued preaching in meetings in London in the faithful discharge of their duties,"³ in the stormy years of persecution before 1686.

William Yeamans died ten years after his marriage, leaving three delicate children, a fourth, the oldest, having died in infancy. One, Margaret, died in the same year as her father. Another, Rachel, survived him only a couple of years. The only child to attain manhood was William, born in 1669, who was early sent away to the care of his aunts at Swarthmoor. Here, in the bracing moorland air, his constitutional delicacy disappeared for a time. He, however, only attained the age of twenty-seven. In the account-book of Swarthmoor Hall, "little Will Yeamans'" childhood can be traced between the years 1674 and 1678. A primer was bought for him in 1674, when he was five, and, soon after, Richard Gowth, the schoolmaster, was engaged to come and teach him. This

² *Extracts from State Papers*, 1913, p. 304.

³ *Sufferings*, i. 484.

arrangement did not last long, for six months later we find his careful Aunt Sarah paying "Jane Marshall for little Will Yeamans dinner when he went to Penington School, 16 dayes, 2s." Articles of clothing and adornment (shoe-buckles and silver buttons exchanged for silk ones) are entered on his account, also medicines. The little sister Rachel seems to have died at Swarthmoor, and was buried 24 June, 1676, according to a note of money given to the poor at her funeral, viz. : £2 7s. 3d.⁴

The child's mother was perhaps in Bristol then, although she afterwards lived near London, and at Stockton-on-Tees. In 1677 she went with George Fox to Holland; she had been a widow for three years. Penn and Barclay were also of the party, and the former has detailed his extensive journey in his *Account of Travels* (1694).⁵ Isabel remained at Amsterdam until George Fox finished his visit to Frederickstadt and Hamburg, going to meet him in Friesland on his return. Her part was evidently one of companionship and care of her stepfather, and throughout the three months abroad, all seemed to go well.

Then follows the second short romance of Isabel's life, an episode which brings into strong relief her own tender and affectionate, yet self-reliant nature, as seen against the very prosaic and calculating self-interest of an elderly Friend of the opposite sex.

In Bristol she had known one Francis Rogers, some time of Cork, where he had married, in 1660, Elizabeth Erbury, daughter of a widow of the same name. In two or three years the wife died, leaving a daughter, born in Cork, 24 vi. 1662.⁶ In 1666 he married Jane Dring, of London, and settled at Bristol, where five children were born to them before 1674. The fourth, a

⁴ There is a curious entry in the Swarthmoor Account Book, three weeks before, of 9^d paid for a pint of brandy "for cousin Rachell Yeamans when she was not well." The use of "cousin" for niece or other relationship is not uncommon.

⁵ Croese says she went to visit the Princess Palatine with Penn, but we prefer to follow Penn's own narrative as the more truthful. Croese confuses her with George Keith's wife, Elizabeth, who was the only other woman of the party from England.

⁶ This daughter, Elizabeth, m. 5 June (4th mo.), 1682, Joseph Pike, had fourteen children, and d. 16 September, 1733. Three of her daughters married Beales.

daughter, born 5th July (5th mo.), 1671, was named Isabel (?) after his friend Mrs. Yeamans, who, when his second wife, Jane, died in 1679, had been five years a widow. The friendship was apparently renewed, with (on his side) the interest cautiously tempered with anxiety as to the state in which the widow's husband had left his financial affairs. After due consideration, and the lapse of two or three years, these were not found to be sufficiently promising, and the worthy Friend Rogers desired to draw back from the advances already made. With the very strict supervision exercised at the time by the Society over marriage contracts, this could not be done without the concurrence of the Meeting at Cork, of which Francis Rogers was now a prominent member, a trustee of the Meeting House property, and appointed to oversee the schoolmaster who was employed to teach a small school on the premises.

The following documents will now speak for themselves :

MINUTES OF CORK SIX WEEKS MEETING.

27 vii. 1684. Francis Rogers having proposed that he have something relating to Marriage to offer w^{ch} he thinks not convenient should be debated at Large in the Meeting, Its assented to that the following friends in behalfe of this Meeting may goe aside wth him to heare and determine the Matter w^{ch} is assented to to be as Effectuall as if the same had been spoaken in the whole Mens Meeting, viz. :—

George Deeble	Thomas Devonsher
George Harrison	Thomas Alley
John Haman	Samuel Tauernor
John Fennell	Richard Berry
George Baker	Thomas Weily
Phillip Popplestone	W ^m Edwards
Tho Wright	Samuel Abbott
Thomas Campion	Daniel Sauery
Jasp ^r Tregoes	George Griffiths
Rich ^d Brocklesby	W ^m Pegg

in all twenty psons.

According to the above request of Francis Rogers Friends Met in the vpper roome of the Meeting house the same day & the Matter w^{ch} Francis Rogers Laid Before vs, related to Certaine Obleiging letters & passages w^{ch} happened in time past betweene himselte and Isabell Yeamons tending to Marriage, &c., wherein he Mençons in Severall letters to her that nothing should put a Stop to him except her husbands Debts, w^{ch} was Desired to be advised of wth Councell, & the opinion was there was Danger, after w^{ch} he could not wth any sattisfaction pceed further, but declined his former Course of Writeing to her vpon

that Subject only, he thought fitt in regard he could not get ouer that feare of her husbands Debts to desire her to Cleare him of what was past & leaue him to his liberty w^{ch} hitherto she haue refused to doe. Wherevpon he haueing in consideraçon to Marry wth another, have desired vs the foregoing psons to Judge Whether he be cleare from the sayd Isabell or not, and haueing had before vs the state of the case and Severall letters or Copies of Letters w^{ch} past betweene them vpon that acc^t, Wee finde in one of her letters Dated 17 1^{mo} 168½ in ansuare to his of the 2^d of the same Month (wherein he mannefested his great dissatisfaction desireing her answare to it), the following words viz. :—

“Thou desires me to consider well of it and giue thee my answeare w^{ch} is as ffollowes, my loue & respect and hon^r is such vnto thee & for thee, that what Euer I Suffer for want of the Enioym^t of [thy company *erased*] thee, Ile bring no reflection vpon thee, nor blame thee, neither will I put thee vpon anything that thee art not freely willing to doe, whatsoeuer I suffer in my selfe.” In w^{ch} wordes the Major p^t of vs cannot perceiue but vpon the consideraçon of the whole matter in all its Circumstances since the matter hath so long depended and she hath not Cleard him, that he is Cleare from her, and accordingly a letter is to be written to the sayd Isabell, to be directed to W^m Mead to giue intimation hereof; the sayd letter to be signed by as many of vs the Meeting aforesayd as agreed therevnto who are as ffolloweth :

Thomas Campion
Jasper Tregoes
John Haman
Samuel Tauernor
George Baker
William Edwards
George Deeble

John Fennell
Rich^d Brocklesby
Thomas Alley
Thomas Devonsher
Richard Berry
Phillip Popplestone

It appears, therefore, that seven persons present did not take this view of Francis Rogers' withdrawal “without honour” from the engagements he had made, and this is scarcely surprising in view of Isabel's letter.

I have not ascertained if the lady he had in view, Katherine Dowlen, of Youghal (with whom, about a month later, he “passed the meeting,” and was married to her 8 January, 1685) was wealthy or not. He himself undoubtedly had means, and was not infrequently called upon to advance money for the use of the Meeting until subscriptions came in at the next meeting. By his third wife he had five children, several of whom died young. He removed to Bristol from Cork and there died.

Isabel Yeamans married, secondly, in 1689, Abraham Morrice, of Lincoln, a widower; they both died in 1704.

CHARLOTTE FELL SMITH.

CERTIFICATE TO DANIEL WHEELER
YOU WERE A MEMBER OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Certificate granted to Daniel Wheeler,
Jun., by Emperor Nicholas I., 1840¹

I HAVE learned from your letter transmitted to me by the Councillor of state Mr. Djunkovsky your desire to retire from the direction of the operation of drainage and cultivation of the environs of St. Petersburg, which you as well as your late father and brothers have continued with full success and great utility to this country during the period of 23 years.²

However painful it is to me to hear of your determination, yet having considered the reasons brought forward by you for joining the remnant of your family and for endeavouring to prolong its endangered existence,³ I had the happiness of laying before the Emperor your wish, and of presenting to Him your letter.

His Imperial Majesty has been most graciously pleased to allow you to withdraw from your appointment, and as it is contrary to the usage of the religious society of Friends to which you belong to accept of the decorations usually bestowed as tokens of the Imperial satisfaction, the Emperor has ordered that this Certificate should be given to you with the expression of the Imperial approbation and acknowledgement of your zealous and faithful service and of the honesty and devotedness with which you and your family have fulfilled your obligations, and of His Majesty's estimation of the benefit, which your exertions have produced to the agriculture of this Country.

I may farther inform you that His Imperial Majesty has on your recommendation most graciously appointed

¹ This document has been presented recently to D. by William Stephens and Helen Bright Clark. (Margaret Priestman, aunt of Helen B. Clark, married Daniel Wheeler in 1846, and married secondly Arthur Tanner in 1855.)

² See *Memoirs of Daniel Wheeler*, 1842.

³ For letters referring to the ill-health of the Wheeler family while they were resident in Russia, see THE JOURNAL x. 64.

your present Assistant John Müller in your stead, and according to your desire the English overseer of the Okhta farm will receive an additional salary of 1,000 roubles ass per ann.:—Moreover the Emperor as a testimonial of the useful services rendered to this country by you and by your family and in compliance with the desire expressed by you, has been graciously pleased to order: that the inclosed space of ground, situated in the private domains of the Emperor in the Tsarsko-Selo district, in which your late mother and sister were interred, should from this present time for ever be called the Burying ground of the Society of Friends and used as such.⁴ This Imperial order has been communicated to the competent authorities and to the British Consul.

I feel a real pleasure in transmitting to you these undoubted proofs of the Imperial good will and I hope that even in your absense you will not refuse to communicate to your successor any information he may require and in case [of] your ever returning for a time to Russia that you will not fail to visit our Establishment for the drainage and Cultivation of boggy lands nor withhold at the same time any advice which your long experience may enable you to give.

⁴ This is a piece of ground situated in the Zarsko Selsky district, within the private property of the Emperor of Russia, about ten miles from the centre of Petrograd in the grounds of the Shusharsky Farm.

In 1890 a certificate was procured from the Department of Appanages and Domains, from the translation of which certificate the above particulars are extracted.

The plot was granted by the Emperor of Russia on the 15th of September, 1840, in accordance with the wish of Daniel Wheeler, to be from that time a cemetery for the Society of Friends forever.

From the plan made in 1890 for the Meeting for Sufferings, when, on the suggestion of the late Thomas William Marsh, the Meeting ordered the repair of the burial ground walls, etc. (which work was carried out the following year at a cost of £34), it appears that there are two graves. On the headstone, placed four feet from the two "sarcophagi," is the following inscription—"Here rest the remains of Jane, wife of Daniel Wheeler, born A.D. 1773, died 1832, also of Jane, daughter of the above, born A.D. 1816, died 1837." One of the sarcophagi bears the inscription, "Jane Wheeler, died 1832"; the other "Jane Wheeler died 1837."

In First Month, 1915, the Meeting for Sufferings recorded the presentation by William Stephens and Helen Bright Clark, of Street, of the original Deed of Gift of the above-named burial ground, signed on behalf of the Emperor Nicholas I. by Prince Alexander Galitzin, under date 20th of September, 1840.

In conclusion I have only to express my wish that our Almighty and All merciful Lord Jesus Christ may pour out upon you His grace and if this be His Divine Will, that the health of your family may be restored.

Done in St. Petersburg the 30th of September 1840.
Of His Imperial Majesty
my most gracious Sovereign, Actual
Privy Councillor, High Chancellor
of all the Imperial orders, Post
Master General, Member of the
Council of the Empire, Senator,
Knight Grand Cross, &c., &c.

PRINCE ALEXANDER GALITZIN.

Imperial Councillor of State and
Director of the Prince's Chancery
Alexander Djunkovsky.

To Daniel Wheeler, Esq.,
of the Society of Friends in England.

George Fox to Elizabeth Hearbey,
1687¹

Edmunton ye 13 : 4 : mo :
1687.

Dear friend Eliz : Hearbey,²

J Received thy Letter dat: 6 : 4 : mo, 87 : And J was glad to hear these tender Lines from thee, & my desires are that thou may be preserved in ye wisdome of God & humillity & J am glad thy Letter was stopt that thou shewed me privately at Benj: Antrobuses Chamber,

¹ This letter was catalogued for sale at Christie's in April, 1913, as part of the library of the late Sir Joseph C. Dimsdale, Bart. With five other Quaker MSS. it was withdrawn before the sale, and the six documents have since been presented to D. by the Dowager Lady Dimsdale. The letter is not in the handwriting of George Fox, but has every appearance of being an original. Fox frequently employed an amanuensis.

² The name Elizabeth Hearbey has not been found among the records in D. It has been suggested that "Hearbey" is an early form of "Harvey." From the registers it is evident that a family of Harveys was living at Saffron Walden at the time; Isaac, son of John and Elizabeth, was born in 1688.

for itt might have been a hurt to thyself if it had gone abroad, ffor J understood by some Antient ffriends in y^e Ministry & such as were Mothers; Last when thou was at London thou was a Little too Long in thy testimony & thee must Consider when soe many Antient friends were gathered from all parts of y^e Nation w^{ch} were as ffathers and Mothers & in Christ Long before thee it is good at such times to be swift to hear & slow to speak, for thou must Consider y^t before such thou art but as a Babe in X^t & J pceive that some did give thee some hints when thou were exhorting y^m to y^e Antient truth, that they did tell thee after that they were Established in itt from y^e Beginning & have stood pillows in itt, not that J would have thee to neglecte thy gift, or to quench any good thing or to hide thy tallent or thy Candle under a Bushell but to bee nursed up & Cherished in thy Measure of y^e Grace of y^e word of Life, but in such a great Assembly to take up such a great deal of time Especially in such a great womens Meeting where they have such a Care of Many widows & ffatherless upon them & to practice y^t true Religion in y^e Love of God y^t Beareth all things, & in doeing good & Co^municateing w^{ch} is a Sacrifice well pleaseing to y^e Lord, and if the meeting were taken up with much exhorting it would have hindered y^e practiceing & Exerciseing of their Charity & to see that nothing doth want in all their particular womens meetings in Citty or County, and soe it doth not Lye only in saying well but he y^t doth good & well & this is my tender Care for thee that thou may bee preserved in y^e Love & spirit of God in unity in the ffamilly of God & bee settled upon y^e holy Rock & ffoundation X^t Jesus & grow up & bee Established in him who is the sanctuary & y^e Life in whom thou hast peace with God, Amen:

Remember mee to thy husband & all y^e Rest of friends in the Lord:

[Addressed]

G: F:

This

For Eliz: Hearbey
att Safforn wallden

Jn
Essex.

for it might have been a hurt to thyself if it had gone
 abroad for I understood by some Ancient Friends in
 yr Ministry & such as were Mothers. Last when thou
 was at London thou was a little too Long in thy
 testimony & thee must Consider when soe many Ancient
 friends were gathered from all parts of yr Nation we
 were as Fathers and Mothers & in Christ Long before thee
 it is good at such times to be swift to hear & slow to speak
 for thou must Consider yr before such thou art but as a
 Babe in X^r & I perceive that some did give thee some hints
 when thou were exhorting yr to yr Ancient truth, that
 they did tell thee after that they were Established in
 it from yr Beginning & have stood pillars in it, not that
 I would have thee to neglect thy gift, or to quench any
 good thing or to hide thy talent or thy Candle under a
 Bushell but to bee nursed up & Cherished in thy Measure
 of yr Grace of yr word of Life, but in such a great
 Assembly to take up such a great deal of time Especially
 in such a great womens Meeting where they have such
 a Care of Many widows & Fatherless upon them & to
 practice yr true Religion in yr Love of God yr Hearney
 all things & in doing good & Communicating we is a
 Sacrifice well pleasing to yr Lord, and if the meeting
 were taken up with much exhorting it would have
 hindered yr practicing & Exercising of their Charity
 & to see that nothing doth want in all their particular
 womens meetings in City or County, and soe it doth
 not I ye only in saying well but he yr doth good & well
 & this is my tender Care for thee that thou may bee
 reserved in yr Love & spirit of God in unity in the
 Family of God & bee settled upon yr holy Rock &
 Foundation X^r Jesus & grow up & bee Established in him
 who is the sanctuary & yr life in whom thou hast peace
 with God Amen:

Remember mee to thy husband & all yr Rest of
 friends in the Lord:
 [Addressed]

This
 For Eliz: Hearney
 at Sallern wallen
 Jan:
 1656

Bristol Refuge Society

OUR Friend Wilfrid Grace, who is Treasurer of the Bristol [Female] Refuge Society, has sent us a copy of the Centenary Report, which contains interesting particulars regarding the foundation of the Society in 1814.

The foundress, Mary Milgrove, was admitted into membership in 1815, but left the Society, by her own wish, in 1835. From 1814 until her death in 1856, at the age of 91, she was the "honoured and beloved" matron at the Refuge, No. 6, Lower Castle Street, Bristol.

Richard Reynolds, the philanthropist, was the first Treasurer of the Society, and his son Joseph filled the office for over thirty-four years. The interest of the Society of Friends in the undertaking was by no means local, for it is evident from the first annual report that the financial support of Friends in various parts of the country was generously given to the Institution.¹ The Committee has issued a facsimile reproduction of the first annual report² in connection with the centenary celebration; probably no one but an expert could detect that this is a reprint.

¹ As proof that the subject of helping the "fallen" was much on the minds of Friends, it is interesting to note that about the same time an unsigned letter, supposed to be by Thomas Sturge, of London, was issued to Friends generally. It is headed "The Attention of Friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and Scotland, is respectfully solicited to the following Remarks." Printed by the Philanthropic Society, St. George's Fields, one sheet quarto, n.d. There are two copies in D.

After referring to work which had been done among unfortunate women from 10th month, 1812, to 3^d month, 1814, an appeal is made for a larger income, closing with the paragraph—"Thus, then, dear Friends, let not us, who cannot unite with our countrymen in missions to the East and the West, be backward in endeavouring to make use of every exertion to restore to society and to virtue this most wretched part of the Community. . . ."

² Copies may be had, gratis, on application to Wilfrid Grace, 9, Redland Green, Bristol.

The following extracts from the Bristol minute books have been supplied by Wilfrid Grace, and are interesting in connection with the resignation of Mary Milgrove.

FIRST MONTH 6TH, 1835.—A letter, of which the following is a copy, is received from Mary Milgrove. Gawen Ball and Jacob P. Sturge are appointed with two friends to be appointed by the Womens Meeting to visit her thereon and report.

“To the Bristol Monthly Meeting of Friends.

“Dear Friends,

“I can truly say that it is in the way of the cross that I now address you ; but as I have for more than two years, not been easy to attend Friends Meetings, and have lately frequented another place of worship, it becomes needful for me (however painful) to resign my membership with you ; which I now do, desiring most sincerely for you an increase of every gospel blessing in and through our Lord Jesus Christ.

“11 mo. 25, 1834.

MARY MILGROVE.”

SECOND MONTH 3RD, 1835.—[Summary of the 4th Minute].—The Friends appointed reported that :

Mary Milgrove declined to enter into a discussion of her reasons for resignation, but had committed them to writing and placed them in a sealed envelope addressed to the Monthly Meeting. The Friends informed her that it was the “usual course to submit letters to judicious friends to decide on the expediency of reading them. It was not desirable to bring controversial points before the meeting.” They did not discuss the matter further with her, but forwarded her sealed letter³ to the Monthly Meeting. The Meeting declined to read the letter.

SECOND MONTH 3RD, 1835.—5th Minute.—Upon serious consideration of the case of Mary Milgrove, and of the report of the friends who visited her, this Meeting thinks it right to accept her resignation of membership ; affectionately wishing her grace, mercy and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour. The Friends on the appointment are requested to inform her thereof.

³ Many Friend readers will remember how, in their childhood, the Clerk of a Meeting would sometimes announce that he had a sealed letter. Whereupon two Friends of weight were appointed to take the letter out of Meeting, open it, and on their return report whether it was suitable to be read.

Comments on "Military History"

I AM asked by the Editor of THE JOURNAL to make some comments on certain passages in J. W. Fortescue's "Military History."¹ On page II we read:

You know that late in the seventeenth century a company of worthy and excellent men formed the settlement of Pennsylvania in North America. They were members of the Society of Friends, who would have nothing to do with war, and consequently bought their lands from the Indians instead of taking them by force or fraud. Frugal, thrifty and industrious, they soon grew wealthy, and extended their borders further and further, until they came into collision with other tribes of Indians, who one day fell upon the outlying settlers with fire and sword. In utter dismay the sufferers appealed to the Government of the province for protection; but the Colonial Assembly would not do violence to their tenets and ignored the appeal, leaving their unhappy and inoffensive frontiersmen to be massacred. At length, goaded to desperation, the settlers came down to Philadelphia with their arms in their hands, and threatened violence unless the Assembly voted money for supply of ammunition, and other measures of defence, forthwith. Thereupon the Assembly yielded, but still they would not openly pass a vote for the purchase of gunpowder. To save their conscience they voted money only for the purchase of corn or *other grain*, which, as gunpowder is made up of grains, was sufficient warrant for the acquisition of the necessary but unspeakable article. To such contemptible subterfuge are men driven who refuse to face facts.

This statement is very misleading. It was not other tribes of Indians which made the trouble, but other tribes of white men, who had come to the Quaker Province and abandoned the Quaker methods. The Friends lived in the south-eastern corner. The other settlers were the Germans, who got along very well with the Indians, and the Presbyterians from Ulster, commonly called Scotch-Irish. These exasperated the Indians by their pugnacious intolerance. "Why should the Indians have land which Christians want?" they demanded.

"The settlers that came down to Philadelphia" were a company of these militants, who had just lynched some

¹ *Military History*. Lectures delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, by the Hon. J. W. Fortescue. Cambridge University Press, pp. 207, 64 by 5, 1s. net.

twenty peaceable Indians at Lancaster, and proposed to treat a group of Moravian Indians, then in Philadelphia, in the same way. The Philadelphians, including some 200 Friends, rose in arms, and the expedition went back without a fight and without accomplishing any other object than extorting from John Penn, grandson of the Founder, and not a Friend, a promise to offer a reward for male and female Indian scalps.

The incident, related by Franklin, of the purchase of gunpowder referred to a different transaction about twenty years before. The Province was asked by England to aid in a military attack upon the French fort at Louisburg on Cape Breton. The Quaker Assembly refused, on the ground that "The peaceable principle professed by divers members of the Assembly do not permit them to join in raising of men or providing arms and ammunition." They, however, appropriated £4,000 for "bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat or other grain." The Governor, not a Friend, on his own responsibility said that "other grain" meant gunpowder, and so expended the money.

Again, on page 105 :—

The pious Quakers of Pennsylvania and Rhode Island used to finance pirates, who at one time nearly swept our East Indian trade off the seas.

There were pirate ships that went out from Philadelphia and from Rhode Island about the year 1700, and returned with spoils. So far as I have been able to ascertain, Friends had nothing to do with financing them. I am sure that if any individual Friends had done so, they would have received the censure of their Monthly Meetings, and the fact would have appeared on the minutes. I never saw or heard anything of the kind.

Haverford College,
Pennsylvania.

ISAAC SHARPLESS.

Margaret Pike was expressing her high approval of women speaking in meeting and in public where it appeared desirable. Jonathan Pike remarked : " Well, Aunt, thou knows Paul was not of that opinion." She replied with alacrity : " But thou knows Paul was not a Friend."

From THOS. HY. WEBB'S MS. *Collection of Quaker Stories.*

Obituaries



DAVID S. TABER, whose death occurred in his seventy-fifth year on the last day of 1914, has acted as the New York agent for THE JOURNAL since the formation of the Historical Society in 1903. His kind help in this connection, and also in procuring American books for the Reference Library, will be much missed.

He was the son of William C. and Hannah Taber, of New Bedford, Mass., but went to New York before he was twenty-one years of age. For the rest of his life he was, both in his relation with Friends and commercial affairs, a New York man. He was in earlier years a partner in the firm of Augustus Taber and Brother, marble importers, but subsequently he joined the well-known house of William H. Wood & Co., Medical Publishers. He married William H. Wood's sister, Elizabeth, daughter of William and Mary S. Wood, of New York. Akin to his work as a publisher was that of the Friends' Book and Tract Depôt, New York. He was Chairman of the Committee of Management, and took a great interest in the distribution of Quaker literature. This was but one of his many interests, for he was closely identified with the church work of New York Yearly Meeting, and to him Friends and others from all quarters turned for help and counsel. One of his colleagues writes of him: "Careful, painstaking, earnest, cheerful, sympathetic, David S. Taber was an inspiration to us all." Vigorous to the last, he went to his office for the last time the day before his death. He was well known to many English Friends who have met him on this side of the Atlantic, and to still more who enjoyed his warm welcome and generous hospitality on the other side. Of his parents' eleven children who grew up and all married, but two or three survive. His sister, Susan Taber Thompson, wife of William Thompson, of New Bedford, Mass., has, with her husband, paid many visits to this country.

New York Monthly Meeting of Friends, rightly following in this case a time-honoured practice, issued a "Testimony," from which the following is extracted :

For many years he has been a devoted member of this Meeting, active on many Committees, holding positions of the highest responsibility and performing the duties pertaining to them with marked efficiency. A man of unusual intellect, he was able to serve the Society of Friends not only in this country but elsewhere, as a source of knowledge of Friends' literature ancient and modern.

[See issues of *The Friend* of 29th of First Month, 5th of Second Month, and of *The American Friend*, 28th of First Month, and 25th of Second Month, 1915.]

By the decease of CHARLES W. DYMOND (1832-1915) the Friends Historical Society has lost a stalwart supporter, and the Society of Friends an original writer and thinker. He was the nephew of Jonathan Dymond, the linen draper essayist of Exeter, in which city he also was born.

He was by profession an engineer, and when the writer first knew him in the late sixties, was engaged on that portion of the Great Western system then known as the Bristol and Exeter Railway. "What do you think of the new engineer?" an old hand was asked. The reply in effect was: "We don't quite make him out; he never swears at anyone." He himself, in dealing with workmen, differentiated between the workmen he ordered to perform certain work and those to whom he carefully explained what he required. As an engineer he was probably unsurpassed in the scrupulous exactness of his work, subjecting his surveyor's chain to a daily test, and even making allowance for stretching in the later measurements each day, especially when working on rough land.

His extra-professional interests were of two kinds, antiquarian and philosophical. To his antiquarian labours he brought the same exactness of detail that distinguished his engineering. Drawings of druidical and other remains at Stanton Drew and Worlebury in Somerset, of cromlechs or dolmens in Devon and Cornwall, were made to scale, and with an extraordinary delicacy of detail. As he showed his illustrations he would remark,

"Not the highest style of the art." Nevertheless, he used to work at times with his pen in one hand and magnifying glass in the other, as he put in the minutiae of his drawing.

His philosophical bent and general interests came out in his writings, the subjects of a few of which may be mentioned here as evidence of the versatility of his mentality. Sanitary Memoranda, 1884; Ancient Remains at Stanton Drew, 1896; Worlebury, an Ancient Stronghold, 1902; A Key to the Theory of Linear Perspective, 1910; Symbolism, a Lecture, 1886; Modern Spiritualism, 1895; Memoir, Letters and Poems of Jonathan Dymond, 1907 and 1911; a Sketch of the History, Doctrines and Practices of the Religious Society of Friends; A Synopsis of the Theosophy and Theology of Emanuel Swedenborg (the two last with other papers in MS. only).

In his later life Charles W. Dymond retired to a quiet home in the English Lake district, enjoying to the last the beauty of the scenery of fell and tarn, his retreat favouring the meditations of the philosopher. His courteous manner, genial disposition, and sense of humour added a charm to his intellectual gifts.

ISAAC SHARP.

Friends and the Indians

IN a paper read by Emma Taylor Lamborn, at the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of London Grove Friends' Meeting, Pa., 1914,¹ we read concerning Robert Lamborn, who married Sarah Swayne in 1722:

"Here was his settlement in early life, early in the cultivation of the wilds of America, as it were on the margin of civilized society. The Indian natives were his nearest neighbors, and his most frequent visitants, of whom my grandfather spoke in high favor of their veracity, hospitality and social intercourse, all in the

¹ The paper has the heading: "The Record of an Early Settler in America"; it appears with others in the printed records of the bi-centennial celebration at London Grove Meeting House, Pa., 3rd of Tenth Month, 1914 (copy in D.).

greatest harmony and confidence. Their customs were then, as has been their practice since, in their native state, to depend on the chase in the forest for their sustenance and supply of their provisions and clothing.

"And in their excursions, frequently wet, cold and weary and oftentimes at night, and perhaps almost all hours of the night, they would use the freedom to open the door, rouse up the fire, cook, roast or broil of their venison, regale themselves and then stretch down on the floor, feet to the fire, and were frequently found by the old patriarch, my grandfather, in the morning, sometimes to the number of eight or ten.

"What native sociability, no fears on either side, all friendship and a benevolent disposition cherished in the fullest confidence to comfort and oblige one another! If only one was lucky, all shared alike in the remainder of the game, as they frequently took a part with them for present need and left the rest, suspended on a sapling bent downward. Ofttimes Lobat's horse (Lobat being their name for Robert) must go for the venison, but Lobat was sure to obtain his share with them, freely given, and sometimes, 'you Lobat, go bring Indian venison, Indian tired. Go bring 'im up such a run, creek or in yonder hill or valley, find 'im.'

"Once an Indian asked Robert to go with him and he would show him the best land in the world. He took him to where the city of Lancaster now stands. But Robert did not like the situation, it being too far from Philadelphia. On their return the Indian was taken sick and Robert was his doctor. The Indian's name was Tom. Sometime after, Tom said: 'Bob, when you trace lands with an Indian again, do not walk in front of him, as you did with me. I drew my tomahawk different times to strike you, but something told me not to do it, or you would have been killed.' "

James White, headmaster of Ballytore School, was known for his powers of apposite quotation. Once at the dinner table, stirring soup with a ladle in search of solid pieces of meat, he was heard solemnly to murmur: "Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto," quoting a line from the shipwreck in the first book of Virgil: "Few appear swimming in the vast deep."—From THOS. HY. WEBB'S MS. *Collection of Quaker Stories*.

Reminiscences of William Forster and Stephen Grellet

AT London Yearly Meeting, in 1845, an epistle received from Indiana Yearly Meeting referred to a separation which had taken place in that body on account of a diversity of sentiment which had arisen among them on the right course of proceeding in regard to anti-slavery efforts.

After serious and deliberate consideration, the Meeting united in an earnest and affectionate appeal to those who had withdrawn from the Indiana Yearly Meeting, and a delegation consisting of William Forster, Josiah Forster, George Stacey, and John Allen, was appointed to be the bearers of the Address, and for such labour in the love of the Gospel as the way might open for.

This delegation reached New York in the Ninth Month of that year (1845). From there they went to Burlington, N.J., to visit their ancient friend Stephen Grellet, and there, according to arrangement, I met them and accompanied them to Philadelphia. It is probable that all of these Friends had met before, but the pleasure of meeting again was most marked in William Forster and Stephen Grellet, who had known each other in sympathy and service in lands beyond the sea.

It was a most grateful privilege which I enjoyed of sitting with them at dinner, where we were joined by Stephen Grellet's wife, Rebecca Grellet, and listening to their very interesting and instructive conversation. Stephen Grellet was particularly entertaining, and related a number of remarkable incidents of his journey, made in company with William Allen, in Russia, Turkey and elsewhere, in 1818.

It was late in the afternoon before we left to take the steamboat on the Delaware for Philadelphia. Stephen Grellet accompanied the party to the wharf, and I remember that, as the boat pushed out into the stream, he took off his hat and waved us an adieu.

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It was late in the afternoon before we left to take the steamboat on the Delaware for Philadelphia. Stephen Grellet accompanied the party to the wharf, and I remember that, as the boat pushed out into the stream, he took off his hat and waved us an adieu.

Arrived at Philadelphia, we were met by Marmaduke C. Cope,¹ who took charge of George Stacey and John Allen, who were to make their home with him, whilst I accompanied William and Josiah Forster to the house of Hannah Paul, widow of John Paul,² who had invited them to make her house their home while in Philadelphia.

After a few days spent in Philadelphia, these Friends took their way westward, *via* Baltimore. It fell to my lot to accompany them to the railroad station and to see after the checking of their luggage, which consisted of *thirty-two* pieces (not trunks, but valises, bundles and packages). When William Forster was in this country (1820-1825) he travelled in many of the newly and thinly settled parts of the west, where many of the Friends dwelt in log or sod houses of very limited capacity, lacking much in the essentials of comfort and convenience—and in memory of these conditions, and not taking into account the many changes which had taken place in the lapse of twenty years, he had brought with him from England a number of articles necessary for domestic comfort, a couple of pillows, several changes of sheets and pillow slips, towels, etc. The luggage of Josiah Forster, besides personal clothing, was largely made up of packages, Bibles, and other books and pamphlets for distribution.

The Friends stopped long enough at Richmond, Indiana, to attend the Yearly Meeting and to acquaint themselves with the location and circumstances of most of those who were the objects of their mission. In this arduous service the delegation spent about seven months, visiting the disaffected Meetings and communities scattered through the States of Ohio, Indiana and Iowa. On their return to England they made a written report to London Yearly Meeting in the Fourth Month of 1846, in which they modestly state:—"We offer no remarks as to the results of this work of faith and labour of love,

¹ The residence of Marmaduke C. Cope and his wife, Sarah W. Cope, had long been known for its hospitality to Ministering Friends. It was under their roof that John Pease, Benjamin Seebohm, William Robinson, Stanley Pumphrey and others had made their homes while in Philadelphia.

² John Paul, an Elder of the North Meeting in Philadelphia, had accompanied William Forster during a large portion of his religious visit in this country (1820-1825).

committing all to the blessing of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom alone it rests to carry out the exercises of the Church for the promotion of His own cause."

Notwithstanding that the committee refrained from taking any credit for what had been accomplished, it is a matter of record that those separate Meetings, of which there were about thirty, were one by one disbanded, and the individuals composing them, with but very few exceptions, returned to their allegiance to Indiana Yearly Meeting. In speaking of this happy result, a member of the delegation said that, while each did his part, in so far as the way opened, for the recovery of those who had separated from their Friends, it was the kindly spirit and gentleness of William Forster that won them back.

In tearful tenderness a child,
A strong man in the right.

On their way homeward the members of the delegation stopped for some days in Philadelphia and attended the Yearly Meeting.

The personal appearance of these Friends is daguerreo-typed on my memory. William Forster occupied a seat at the head of the Meeting on the left of the assistant clerk, the same seat which had been occupied in previous years by Jonathan Backhouse, Daniel Wheeler, Joseph John Gurney, John Pease, and Benjamin Seebohm. William Forster was somewhat heavy in person—large head with broad forehead, and a quiet expression of intelligence. As he sat there he seemed to be a motionless figure. For an hour or more I do not think he changed his position in the slightest degree. In striking contrast was his brother Josiah,³ who never seemed to be quite at rest. He gave close attention to all the proceedings, and not infrequently asked questions for further information, or made suggestions to which the clerk or other members courteously responded, and thus he was often the means of increasing the interest and animation of the Meeting.

William Forster spoke but twice during the week, and on one of these occasions, during the consideration of the state of the Society, he made a somewhat lengthy address

³ A Frenchman who had forgotten Josiah Forster's name described him as Monsieur "toujours courant." [Eds.]

which was taken down very nearly in full by a young member, who sent a copy of it to England, where it was reproduced by his biographer.⁴

The Second Delegation

In the year 1849, London Yearly Meeting issued an Address to Sovereigns and others in authority in the nations of Europe, and in other parts of the world, on the cruelty and wickedness of the Slave Trade and Slavery. William Forster, who had the largest share in the preparation of this Address, was also engaged in presenting it at many of the European Courts.

At the Yearly Meeting in London in 1853, it was felt that the time had come for the presentation of this Address to those in authority in the United States, and this important service devolved upon William Forster, Josiah Forster, John Candler, and William Holmes.

In the Ninth Month following, the delegation sailed for Boston, and from thence went to Philadelphia, calling at Burlington, as the delegation seven years previously had done, to see their beloved Stephen Grellet and others.

At Philadelphia the Forster brothers made their home at the house of Thomas Evans (their former hostess, Hannah Paul, being then deceased). John Candler and William Holmes lodged with Marmaduke C. Cope. William and Josiah Forster left the city for a day or so to make a short visit to their friend Thomas Wistar, Jun., at Abington, where M. C. Cope and I found them on the First-day following, and with them attended the Abington Meeting, where William Forster was largely engaged in the ministry, very much to the satisfaction and edification of the small company there assembled. We dined together at "Hilton," the former residence of the late venerable Thomas Wistar, Sen. After dinner, William Forster, taking me by the arm, asked me to have a little walk with him. We strolled together along a winding path through a grove of ancient trees. The converse of that half-hour has a cherished place in my memory. Stopping under a great mossy-cup oak tree beneath which the ground was strewn with acorns, he picked up some of them, and remarking on the curious

⁴ *Life of William Forster*, by Benjamin Seebohm, Vol. II, pp. 207-209.

mossy covering on the lip of the cup, he put a number of them into his coat pocket, saying that he would take them with him to plant in his garden in England. Dear man ! That home and that garden, and the dear companion whom he had left behind, and who was looking with anxiety for every line which came from his hand, he was never again to see.

We returned that day to Philadelphia, and on the day following the delegation set out upon their mission. They stopped at Washington and called upon the President, who received them with much cordiality, and from thence they entered upon the delicate purpose of their mission. They visited most of the governors of the Southern States, and also the governors of some of the States in the North. There was much excitement at this time in regard to slavery throughout the country, and much bitterness between the North and the South, and there was no little solicitude on the part of the friends of the English deputation lest they should meet with some ill-treatment ; but they were so circumspect in all their movements and conversation that, with very little exception, they were received with great kindness and courtesy ; every opportunity was afforded them to present the Address, and much freedom was enjoyed in an interchange of views.

In the early part of the year 1854, having very nearly completed what they had in prospect, they reached Tennessee, where William Forster was taken so ill that it became evident that they could proceed no further. In much discomfort and rapidly failing strength he continued for about two weeks, when, in great tranquillity, the end came, 24th of First Month, 1854.

Under a mound in the secluded graveyard by the little Meeting House at Friendsville, now rests all that was mortal of William Forster.

O friend ! O brother ! Not in vain
 Thy life so calm and true,
 The silver dropping of the rain,
 The fall of summer dew !

How many burdened hearts have prayed
 Their lives like thine might be !
 But more shall pray henceforth for aid
 To lay them down like thee.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

JOSHUA L. BAILY.

The Quaker and the Church Rates—Silent Friends¹

"Some years ago in Boscawen Street, Truro, on the spot where Messrs. James & Sons' establishment now stands, a Mr. Benjamin Wilkey² kept a grocer's shop. He was a Friend who, like many of his brethren, conscientiously objected to paying church rates, and annually allowed his goods to be distrained. Having, however, a good eye to business, he never permitted his grocery stock to be interfered with, but by an agreement with the collector of the rate, an old clock which hung up in a lumber room was taken, and Mr. Wilkey would then at once re-purchase the clock for the exact amount of the rate, thus easily satisfying the scruples of his conscience and the church rate collector."

"Mr. Zaccheus Prater, commonly called Mr. Key Prater, was, next to Mr. Wilkey, considered to be the most silent and reserved man in Truro.³ These two gentlemen were great friends, and although continually walking about together, were never by any chance observed to address each other. It used to be related that they walked to Perranzabuloe, partook of two glasses of beer, and returned to Truro, without either of them speaking a single word."

[*One and All*, a Cornish monthly illustrated journal newsletter and record of local history. Penzance, March, 1869. Eleven numbers only, May, 1868, to March, 1869; the last number was not printed or offered for sale.]

¹ Contributed by George Cecil Dymond, of Birkenhead.

² In 1756, there lived at Callington, a small town in East Cornwall, eight-and-a-half miles from Liskeard, two members of the Society of Friends named Edward and Mary Wilkey. Their son, John Wilkey, who appears first to have settled at Liskeard in the neighbourhood of the parental home, and afterwards at Truro, married, January 26, 1756, at Looe, Sarah Edey, daughter of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Edey of that town. The family of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Edey, who were members of the Society of Friends, consisted of ten children, of whom Sarah was the seventh. She was born at Looe, May 18, 1735, and married John Wilkey at the age of twenty-one years.

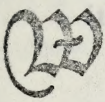
Benjamin Wilkey, born at Liskeard, December 27, 1759, about whom the above anecdotes are told, was their son. One does not nowadays quite understand the frame of mind which was satisfied with such a subterfuge as that related, but it was probably a case in which B.W. had no strong feeling about church rates himself, but was in favour of "discipline."

Benjamin Wilkey died, unmarried, at his residence in Boscawen Street, Truro, on January 8, 1825, aged sixty-five, having retired from business some years previously. "On the morning of the day on which he died, he was as well as usual, and had taken his accustomed walk. In the afternoon he went to a small workshop, which he had fitted up for his amusement, and was shortly afterwards found there quite insensible. Medical assistance was immediately procured, but every effort to restore animation proved unavailing." [*West Briton*, Truro, January 14, 1825.]

³ The story of a preference for silent companionship is quite consistent with, though perhaps an extreme instance of, that sobriety of manner, and reserve of speech, which is often characteristic of members of the Society of Friends.

78 WILLIAM HOBSON OF MARKFIELD

William Hobson, of Markfield, Tottenham [1752-1840], the Quaker Builder of the Martello Towers, etc.

ILLIAM HOBSON, of Markfield, Tottenham, was born 9th November, 1752. He married Ann Rickman, and died at Markfield, Stamford Hill, 23 May, 1840, aged eighty-seven. He it was who built the famous Martello Towers on the southern and eastern coasts as a defence against French invasion. They were so called because at Mortella Point in Corsica, a small round tower withstood an immense cannonade from an English fleet under Lord Hood in 1794.

These towers, many of which still remain, especially upon the Kent coast, are about forty feet in height, are situated upon the beach, and are of very solid construction.

William Hobson also built the London Docks and St. Luke's Hospital. He was a clever, handsome man, and died very rich. He had no less than twelve sons-in-law, by all of whom he was greatly admired, which goes to show that he was a man of superior endowments.

William Hobson was buried at the old parish church of All Saints, Tottenham, when some twelve mourning coaches and seventeen private carriages followed the remains down Stamford Hill to Tottenham.

William Hobson was certainly only a nominal Quaker, as he had a box at the opera, and a billiard table at Markfield, in his day considered inconsistent with Friends' principles. He was also fond of sport, keeping hunters in his stable, and is mentioned as hunting in Surrey by Robert Smith Surtees [1803-1864], the sporting novelist, the creator of the inimitable "John Jorrocks."

William Hobson is said to have been upon friendly terms with George III., who wished him to accept a baronetcy, but he had enough of the Quaker in him to refuse that honour.

A bust of William Hobson has been presented to the Brassey Institute at Hastings by his grand-daughter,

Mrs. Ellen Oliver, the widow of the Rev. William Oliver, and daughter of John Austin, of a West country family, by his wife Ellen Hobson. Mrs. Oliver died 26 April, 1906, in her eighty-seventh year, and she, who remembered her grandfather's funeral at Tottenham in 1840, supplied most of this information to her son-in-law, Richard F. Ball, of Theydon Copt, Epping (a great-nephew of the late William Ball), and who communicated it to the present writer.

JOSEPH J. GREEN.

Richard F. Ball, since seeing the foregoing in type, has forwarded much additional information, from which the following is gleaned.

From particulars in the possession of descendants, the paternal ancestry of William Hobson appears to be traceable from Edward Hobson, of Skipsey [? Skipsea, Yorks], who married, 1664, Ann, daughter of — Pilkington, of the same place. Their son, Edward Hobson (Jun.), of Berley, Co. Derby, married, 1706, Lydia, daughter of William Pease, of Fishlake, Yorks. Their son Joshua Hobson [? of Southwark] married, 1750, Martha, daughter of George Holms of Horsham, Sussex. William Hobson of Markfield was a son of this marriage.

A pedigree in the possession of Norman Penney traces the paternal ancestry of Ann Rickman, William Hobson's wife, from John Rickman of Boreham, who married Margaret Edwards in 1680.

By the marriage of William Hobson and Ann, daughter of Caleb and Susannah Rickman, in 1779, there were sixteen children. In 1800, Southwark Monthly Meeting had noted that William Hobson "continues in the practice of paying tithes and encouraging diversions in his house," and in the following year, a formal statement by the offender that he considered it right to pay, in obedience to the law of the land, led to a testimony of disownment being issued against him. Two or three years later the family removed to Tottenham, and upon the question of a certificate for Ann Hobson and her family, a hindrance arose on the ground that she "encourages and approves of her children being taught the practice of music." Notwithstanding frequent "Visits" from Committees, she adhered to her views "on music and dancing at home," and consequently she was disowned in October, 1804. The three sons were disowned in 1803, two stating that they were connected with a military association of "Volunteers." Southwark M.M. forwarded certificates to Tottenham M.M. for the thirteen daughters; subsequently three were disowned for "marrying out," one resigned on her marriage, and nine were disowned for non-attendance at Meeting.

Stranger Friends visiting Scotland, 1650-1797

MOST of the following names are those of Ministering Friends; a few are definitely stated to have been "not publick."

1650

There seems to be only one name on record, that of JAMES NAYLER. In the autumn of that year, after the battle of Dunbar, one of Cromwell's officers, riding in Scotland at the head of his troop, "observed at some distance from the road a crowd of people, and one higher than the rest." A soldier who was sent to see what was the meaning of the gathering not returning, a second was despatched, and when he also failed to return, the officer himself rode up to the concourse. "When I came thither, I found it was James Nayler preaching to the people; but with such power and reaching energy as I had not till then been witness of. I could not help staying a little, although I was afraid to stay; for I was made a Quaker, being forced to tremble at the sight of myself."¹

1651-1654

For the next four years the records are scanty, and not a little vague. Referring to this period, John Barclay says, "Very soon, however, were the feet of several gospel messengers from England turned in this direction as CHRISTOPHER FELL [of Cumberland(?) in 1653²], GEORGE WILSON [of Cumberland], JOHN GRAVE, GEORGE ATKINSON [? Watkinson], SARAH CHEEVERS, KATHARINE EVANS."³ The two last-named Friends were in Scotland in 1654.⁴ EDWARD BURROUGH was at Berwick-on-Tweed in April, 1654, "from which place," writes William C. Braithwaite, "I fancy he may have gone into Scotland." In that year also JAMES LANCASTER and MILES HALHEAD travelled in parts of Scotland,⁵ whilst JOHN BOWRON, of Yorkshire, journeyed in Scotland "soon after his convincement in 1653." "At Edinburgh he preached to

the people as he went through the streets . . . and at the Cross." Some English soldiers were kind to him as he journeyed, "but the priests were in a rage against him, for he was a dread to them."⁵

1655

In 1655 and the two following years there was a wonderful influx of Quaker missionaries from the south.

JOHN BOWRON,⁶ WILLIAM CATON,⁶ RICHARD CLAYTON of Lancashire,⁶ CHRISTOPHER FELL,⁷ JOHN GRAVE, who this year had £4 9s. from the Swarthmoor Fund "at seuerall times for Scotland,"⁶ THOMAS HUTTON,⁶ RICHARD ISMAY (Ihmaide, Esmaid, etc.) had £2 this year from the Swarthmoor Fund, "at his goeing twice for Scotland."⁶ JAMES HARRISON,⁶ THOMAS HOLME and his wife ELIZABETH,⁶ JAMES LANCASTER,⁶ JAMES MOORE,⁷ JOSEPH NICHOLSON,⁷ THOMAS RAWLINSON received from the Swarthmoor Fund thirteen shillings "that he laide for friends in Scotland,"⁶ WILLIAM SIMPSON,⁶ JOHN SLEE,⁷ WILLIAM STOCKDALE of Ireland,⁶ JOHN STUBBS,⁶ THOMAS STUBBS,⁶ GEORGE WILSON received one pound from the Swarthmoor fund "for Scotland."⁶

1656

JOHN BOWRON travelled as far north as the Orkney Isles, taking shipping from Kirkwall for Barbadoes,⁹ MARGARET BRADLEY, to whom five shillings was paid from the Swarthmoor fund "as shee returned from Scotland in her journey towards Yorke,"¹⁰ WILLIAM CATON,¹¹ THOMAS CLIBBORN,¹² CHRISTOPHER FELL,¹² JOHN GILL.

William Stockdaill and John Gill with severall other freinds about Glasfoord being mett at Strathaven and keeping a meetting in the graveyard [6 x. 1656] wer by the rude and crwel multitud from thence expelled and stoned and some of their blood shedd by the multitude of persecutors.⁸ About this tyme [x. 1656] George Wilsone and the said John Gill being moved to goe to the steephous of Glasfoord wher George Wilsone did aske the preist a qwestione three tymes, but he uowld not ansswer, then Claud Mershell (called a constable) did lay hands on him and the rude multitud did assist him in stockeing and persecuting of them till some of George Wilsone his blood was Shedd.⁸

JOHN GRAVE was visiting Scotland with WILLIAM CATON in May of this year,¹³ JOHN HALL of Yorkshire, had money from the Swarthmoor fund for a horse, clothes,

etc., when he "went into Scotland."¹⁴ ANN HARGROVE,¹⁵ JOHN LANGSTAFF of Durham, and ALEXANDER PARKER of Lancashire,¹⁶ GEORGE REYNALDS,¹⁵ WILLIAM STOCKDALE.

William Stockdall and John bourane with some other freinds of truth journeying through a merkat towne called strathaven and declaring the Word of the Lord in the streets were by the inhabitants of the towne and some others crwelly beat with stones and abused with mire of the street [and] shamefully driven out of the towne about the sixt moneth.¹⁷

William Stockdale was a witness to the first Quaker marriage recorded in Scotland in the Tenth Month of this year. HUGH TICKELL "has good service for the Lord" at Heads, Douglas, Glasgow, Hamilton, Edinburgh, etc.¹⁸ JOHN WESTRAY of Cumberland,¹² GEORGE WILSON.⁸

1657.

CHRISTOPHER FELL (?), GEORGE FOX,¹⁹ E. GYBSON,²⁰ JOHN GRAVE,²⁰ THOMAS HOLME this year "went againe for Scotlande,"²⁰ FRANCIS HOWGILL,²¹ ROBERT HUNTINGTON of Carlisle (?),²⁰ RICHARD ESMAID, (probably Ismay) in the Fifth Month of this year was put in the stocks at the Castle of Glasfoord and imprisoned at Hamilton for preaching in Glasfoord steeplehouse, and three months later he was again put in the stocks, gagged, and imprisoned "for declaireing the Word of the Lord to the people" on Hamilton Green, the Constable sending "for the preists fetter Locke to Locke the stockes withall."⁸ JAMES LANCASTER,²⁰ ALEXANDER PARKER,²⁰ RICHARD PINDER was moved in Fourth Month to go to Kilbride steeple house and speak to the people and was forthwith carried off by the constables and imprisoned at Ruglane, "where he could scarcely get any strae to lye wpon." He was then set in "the stockes at Kilbrid steephous the space of five howres," and afterwards "carried from constable to constable furth of Scotland into ingland."⁸ THOMAS RAWLINSON,²⁰ THOMAS ROBERTSON,²⁰ WILLIAM STOCKDALE in Second Month of this year and other friends were "apprehended as vagabounds," and passed on from constable to constable "till they came to James Campbell of Cesnock, who after examinatione and threatening dismissed" them.⁸ ROBERT WIDDERS went to a

steeple house at New Monklands and many other places directing the people to the word of God in their hearts.²² GEORGE WILSON, suffered with other Friends in the West of Scotland, in Sixth Month two Scottish Friends were imprisoned for entertaining him at their houses.⁸

1658

JOHN BURNYEAT of Cumberland, afterwards of Dublin, writes:

About the beginning of the eighth month, I took my journey into Scotland and travelled in that nation about three months; and was both in the north and west of it, as far north as Aberdeen, and back again to Edinburgh, and so down west to Lithgow, Hamilton, Ayr, and as far as Portpatrick; and back to Ayr and Douglas. And our service was at their steeple-houses and markets and other places . . . and sometimes at Friends' meetings where there were any . . . we returned into England and came over the water to Bowstead hill, the first day of the eleventh month.²³

WILLIAM DEWSBURY "alarms" sundry at Aberdeen, when he with other Friends "came thorough this Nacione sounding forth the day of the Lord,"²⁴ SAMUEL THORNTON,²⁵ GEORGE ATKINSON (probably Watkinson) joined Dewsbury at Leith in September and travelled North with him.²⁵

1659

JOHN BOWRON,²⁶ STEPHEN CRISP of Colchester, writes:

I got into Scotland in the 9th month . . . I travelled to & fro that winter on foot with cheerfulness. Many straits & difficulties attended me . . . & it being the time of the motion of the English & Scottish armies upon which succeeded the revolution of Government & the bringing back of King Charles 2nd.²⁷

1659-1669

I have found no records of the visits of Stranger Friends between 1659 and 1669, except that of WILLIAM DEWSBURY in 1662,²⁸ but, in addition, very probably there may have been visits from some of the following Friends who are said to have been in Scotland, some of them several times, though no dates are given:— THOMAS ALDAM,²⁹ JOHN BANKS,²⁹ JOHN BLAYKLING,²⁹ WILLIAM CARTER of Cumberland,³⁰ JOHN FELL of Cumberland,³⁰ THOMAS FELL of Cumberland (c. 1624-

1697),²⁹ ROGER HAYDOCK,³¹ ROGER HEBDEN,³² WILLIAM HORNOLD of London,²⁹ RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE,³⁰ ANTHONY PATRICKSON of Cumberland,²⁹ SAMUEL WATSON of Yorkshire writes in 1699 that he had been in Scotland "about 40 years ago,"³³ ELIZABETH WHEATLEY,³⁴ WILLIAM WILSON of Westmorland (d. 1682).²⁹

WILLIAM F. MILLER.

(To be continued.)

¹ *Jaffray's Diary*, 3rd ed., 413.

² *Camb. Jnl.* i. 451.

³ *Jaffray's Diary*, 195.

⁴ *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 374.

⁵ *Piety Promoted*, 1854, i. 233.

⁶ *THE JOURNAL* vi. 51, 85.

⁷ *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 326, 331.

⁸ *MS. Register of the Sufferings of Friends in Scotland.*

⁹ *Piety Promoted*, 1854, i. 233.

¹⁰ *THE JOURNAL* vi. 128; *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 333.

¹¹ *Tuke's Biographical Notices* ii. 216.

¹² *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 333.

¹³ *Braithwaite's Beginnings of Quakerism*, 227.

¹⁴ *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 476; *THE JOURNAL* vi. 127.

¹⁵ *THE JOURNAL* vi. 127, 128.

¹⁶ These two Friends were expected in Scotland "about y^t time," *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 334.

¹⁷ This is the first entry in the *MS. Register of the Sufferings of Friends in Scotland.*

¹⁸ *Whiting's Memoirs*, 1715, 52.

¹⁹ *Camb. Jnl.* i. 292-310.

²⁰ *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 337.

²¹ *Camb. Jnl.* 336.

²² *Piety Promoted*, 1854, i. 98.

²³ *Jaffray's Diary*, 196. *George Fox's Journal* ii. 325.

²⁴ *THE JOURNAL* vii. 92.

²⁵ *Braithwaite's Beginnings of Quakerism*, 363, 364.

²⁶ *Piety Promoted*, 1854, i. 234.

²⁷ *Jaffray's Diary*, 414.

²⁸ *Jaffray's Diary*, 197.

²⁹ *Piety Promoted*, 1854, Vols. I. and II.

³⁰ *The First Publishers of Truth.*

³¹ *Sewel's History*, 1795, ii. 235.

³² *Camb. Jnl.* ii. 464.

³³ *Aberdeen Meeting Book* v.

³⁴ *Robson MSS.*, T.R. i. 78.

Arthur Lister, 1830-1908

A REVIEW

ARTHUR LISTER, F.R.S., F.L.S., is the subject of an obituary notice appearing in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, 1915, by his son, Joseph Jackson Lister, F.R.S., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Arthur Lister was the youngest son of Joseph Jackson Lister, F.R.S., the London Quaker wine merchant who discovered "the true principle on which compound lenses should be constructed." His older brother, Joseph, the late Lord Lister, was a President of the Royal Society. The brothers grew up in the strict atmosphere of a Quaker home, but with "the breath of a larger and cultivated world in the environment."

From Isaac Brown's school at Hitchin, and Grove House School, Tottenham, Arthur Lister, as was customary with Friends in his young days, was put straight to business. He had, however, acquired literary, artistic, musical and scientific tastes, and was a keen sportsman. The use of gun and rod soon "passed more and more into the background" as the pursuit of natural history became the absorbing interest of the leisure of one whose business life was active. He succeeded his father in 1857 in the firm of Lister & Beck, of Tokenhouse Yard, London, being "a representative of the fourth generation of his family in this firm." He married, in 1855, Susanna Tindall, and soon afterwards settled at Leytonstone, on the edge of Epping Forest.

Throughout his life he was an "enthusiastic ornithologist." It is safe to say that no one had a better knowledge of the birds of Epping Forest. He was ever "alert to the doings and songs of birds," and had an exceptional power, as long as his hearing remained acute, "of recognising birds by their notes." His chief scientific work lay, however, in another direction. Commencing with the study of flowering plants, he passed on to the British mosses, with which he had made some acquaintance in his school days under Isaac Brown. Examining these microscopically, he made "exquisite water-colour drawings" of his specimens "with the aid of the camera lucida," and he habitually recorded the results of his investigations in this way. He extended his work to the study of lichens and then to moulds and other fungi, inventing a means of recording the arrangement of the gills and colour of the spores by placing the fungi under a glass in such a way that the spores fell on blotting paper.¹ Whilst working at moulds and fungi, Arthur Lister entered upon his investigations of the Mycetozoa, then classified with fungi, but now "regarded as a group of Protozoa." For the rest of his life, assisted by his daughter Gulielma, these minute organisms became the chief objects of his careful and skilful research. The results obtained were methodically recorded by "ledger" entries and accurate drawings, and in 1892 he was requested

¹ A similar idea was suggested to the writer of this notice by Till Adam Smith, of Weston-super-Mare, nearly fifty years ago.

by Mr. William Carruthers, of the Botanical Department of the British Museum, "to prepare a Descriptive Catalogue of the Collections of the Mycetozoa in the Museum." To this collection were added by presentation "samples mounted on slides of all the species and varieties known to him . . . with beautiful water-colour drawings by his daughter, giving magnified views of the typical specimens of the group."

Arthur Lister's scientific bent did not prevent his giving much of his time during many years to affairs connected with the Society of Friends,² to philanthropic work and foreign travel. He was a "very active member of the West Ham School Board," a diligent magistrate, and an Essex County Councillor. His life affords a record of conscientious application to everything to which he set his hand. He died at his second home, Highcliffe, Lyne Regis, 19th of July, 1908, in his seventy-ninth year, and his funeral took place in the Friends' Burial Ground adjoining the Meeting House at Wanstead, near Leytonstone, the ground "on which he so often looked out as he sat in Meeting."

The Catalogue is entitled "*A Monograph of the Mycetozoa, being a descriptive catalogue of the species in the herbarium of the British Museum*, by Arthur Lister, F.L.S." The first edition, 1894, is illustrated with seventy-eight plates and fifty-one woodcuts, and occupies 224 pages of letter-press. There is a brief prefatory note by William Carruthers, and a valuable introduction by the author. The reader need only scan here and there the elaborate and highly technical descriptions of individual species to obtain some idea of the enormous amount of labour expended in its preparation. It is well that some men and women have hobbies and the time and ability to devote to them successfully.

The Catalogue excited unusual interest for so technical a work, and Arthur Lister intended to bring out a second edition. It fell, however, to the lot of his accomplished daughter, Gulielma Lister, F.L.S., to complete his work, and the second edition appeared in 1911, much enlarged, and with 201 plates. Whilst none of the plates in the first edition are coloured, though exceedingly beautiful, a comparison with the uncoloured plates of the second edition shows a marked increase in beauty of production. The coloured plates of the second edition are beyond description; they must be examined if they are to be appreciated at their true worth. Attached to the species described are the names of the discoverers. In this connection the name Lister is of frequent occurrence.

By the kindness of Joseph Jackson Lister, Miss Lister and Miss Gulielma Lister, the obituary notice and both editions of the Catalogue have been added to the Reference Library, Devonshire House, and we commend them to the notice of visitors to the Library.

ISAAC SHARP.

² His educational work for the Society centred especially in service on the Committee of Croydon and Saffron Walden Schools, covering the years occupied by the responsible and anxious work connected with the removal of the school to its new home at Saffron Walden in 1879.

Elizabeth Hooton

FMILY MANNERS is to be congratulated upon the "Life of Elizabeth Hooton," which forms Supplement No. 12 to THE JOURNAL. It is to be hoped that her success will lead to similar work being done for other pioneers of the Quaker movement—for William Dewsbury and Francis Howgill, for Edward Burrough and James Nayler. The renewed interest in historical study could not spend itself better than by revivifying for us the great names of our past, with the help of the rich materials in the Reference Library at Devonshire House.

It is fitting that one of the first of these adequate Quaker biographies should be that of the woman who was the nursing-mother of the Children of the Light who gathered round Fox in Nottinghamshire in 1648. Elizabeth Hooton had "Joyned with y^e Baptists but after some time finding them y^t they were not upright hearted to y^e Lord but did his work negligently and she haveing testified ag^t their deceit Left y^m who in those parts soon after were scatered & gone." This looks as though she had been a Baptist preacher before she became the earliest Quaker woman preacher; and she may be the person referred to in Edwards' *Gangræna*, (1646 edn., Second Division, p. 29) as preaching, or even baptizing, in the low-lying part of Lincolnshire called Holland.

A woman of firm and bold character, she suffered four imprisonments during the Commonwealth period for rebuking "priests." One minister was so enraged at the sight of her that he knocked her down and ducked her as she was passing quietly along the road. Her inside knowledge of prisons led her to make a striking appeal to the authorities as to their condition. "Her protests against strong drink, her plea for the separation of the sexes and for the employment of the prisoners reads more like an appeal from Elizabeth Fry two centuries later."

In 1661 and following years, Elizabeth Hooton, then about sixty, paid two visits to New England and deliberately braved the cruelty of the Massachusetts persecutors. The following is but one specimen of the barbarities which she suffered :

Then they there tyed us both to y^e carts taile y^e youngman & J in y^e cold weather & stript us as usual to y^e middle & there whipt us from whence they had us to Medfield, & would fain have whipt us there also, w^{ch} y^e Preist desired & sought much for o^r bloud but could not obtaine it, So y^e Constable wth his long sword went wth anoth^r man to guard us out of their Jurisdiction, into y^e woods & left us to goe 20 miles in y^e night among y^e Bears & wild beasts & wat^{rs} & yet we were preserved & y^e Constable when he saw me returne lift up his hands & said he never expected to see me againe, And allwayes they drive us toward Road Isl being a place of liberty to us.

On one occasion she was moved of the Lord to go in sackcloth and ashes to Governor Endicott's house to bear her testimony against the persecutors ; and at Cambridge, Mass., where they were very thirsty for blood, she cried repentance through part of the town, and was thrown into a dark dungeon without bread or water for two days and nights. A Friend brought her some milk and was fined £5 for his act of mercy. She ends the recital of her sufferings by saying, " had not y^e Lord been on my side J had utterly failed."

On her return to England in 1666, she expostulated with the King for the banishment to which Friends were subjected under the Conventicle Act of 1664. The punishment was devised for a third offence under the Act, and of all the nonconformists, Friends were, I believe, the only ones who braved it out to this last heroic witness. And in their case, though upwards of two hundred received sentence, less than a score were actually transported. The weapon broke in the hands of the persecutors, for the shipmasters had got the salutary notion into their heads that no Englishman should be carried out of his country against his will. Elizabeth Hooton speaks of " an old vissited ship w^{ch} was rotten, & leaked water," in which many had died, and the rest had gone to some uncertain fate, perhaps, she thought, to be taken by the Dutch. The reference is to the *Black Eagle*, into which fifty-five Friends were put in mid-August, at the

height of the Plague. The ship lay seven weeks in the Thames, during which time half the prisoners died, many being buried in the marshes below Gravesend. It did not reach Plymouth till February, 1666, and a few hours after it had sailed for America, it was taken by a Dutch privateer, and reached Holland *viâ* Bergen in Norway, where the Quakers had distributed their books to curious visitors. They were soon set at liberty by the Dutch, and thus, as Sewel says, "the design of their persecutors was brought to nought by an Almighty hand."

Emily Manners gives us other instances of the brave woman's outspoken rebukes to highly-placed oppressors. Nothing could daunt her daring. To the King she says: "How oft haue J come to thee in my old age, both for thy reformation and safety, for the good of thy soule And for Justice and equity. Oh that thou would not giue thy Kingdome to y^e papists nor thy strength to weomen."

She had a great esteem for George Fox. In a paper dated 13th August, 1667, which might have been given at length, addressed to disaffected Friends, she says: "You do not only envy George Fox, whom God hath set as a pillar in His temple because he hath stood fast from the beginning and hath been a faithful steward in God's work, but your enmity is against God and Christ." Some twenty-four years older than the founder of Quakerism, "Goody Hooton," as he calls her, looked on Fox with motherly affection, and, when he projected his visit to America in the summer of 1671, she, in her seventieth or seventy-first year, felt the call to join the party "to doe y^e best that Js Required for him," presumably from mending his stockings to tending him in illness. They reached Barbados, and the last letter we have of hers, addressed to some island magnate, expresses her simple but sufficient Quaker creed: "Soe Returne to the Light in thy Consciene w^{ch} will not let the doe any Wrong to any if thou be Obedient to Jt." They went forward to Jamaica, where she fell ill and died. James Lancaster, one of the party, says:

Shée looked vpon me and J [on] her. My life rose towards her and allsoe her life answered mine again with greate Joy betwixt vs and shee said, It is well, James, thou art come; and fastened her arms aboute me and said, Blessed be the lord god that has made vs partakers

of those heuently mercies, and more words to the like effecte; and embraced me with a kisse and laid her selfe Downe; and turned her selfe on her side; and soe her breath went weaker and weaker till it was gone from her; and soe passed away as though shee had beene asleep; and none knew of her departure but as her breath was gone.

Fox wrote that she died "in peace like a lamb," and asked that her son Oliver should gather up all her papers and her sufferings and send them to London that her life and death might be printed. His sound historical instinct made him recognize the importance of her life in the story of the Quaker movement. We have references, in the "Children of the Light" papers in D. (Portfolio 10), to a History by Oliver Hooton, which contained particulars of Elizabeth Hooton's early life, but neither this nor any other life seems to have been printed. Emily Manners, accordingly, for the first time, collects the known facts respecting the first woman-preacher among Friends.

The book has some good illustrations, including the village of Skegby, where Elizabeth Hooton had her home, the photograph of a letter to Fox in 1653, Beckingham Church, one of the churches where she disturbed the minister, and the Gateway of Lincoln Castle, where she was imprisoned for this offence.

WILLIAM C. BRAITHWAITE.

In conjunction with Eliza H. Varney, an appointed evening meeting in a Union Chapel was about to conclude. John Dillingham knelt in prayer. With much fervency he pleaded for several conditions and several classes, then as if a moment hesitating, his supplication was for "any widow whose husband may still be living." As the meeting concluded, one who sat by the Friend who had arranged the meeting turned to him somewhat sharply with the question, "Why did you tell him that?" In a moment it was evident to the interrogator that no previous knowledge of the condition thus strikingly pictured had been possessed by any of the Friends, and he confessed his amazement at the distinct leading of the Holy Spirit, in what proved in good measure to have been a healing ministration.

John H. Dillingham, by J. Henry Bartlett, 1912, pp. 131, 132.

John Whiting and Sarah Hurd

THE following extracts throw interesting side-lights upon the matrimonial affairs of John Whiting.¹

Under date 1683 he writes :—

I had drawings in my Mind for some time, towards a young Woman of of good Repute, in relation to Marriage, whose name was Sarah Hurd, of Long Sutton, Daughter of Thomas Hurd, of Somerton, who was a Prisoner with me, for Tythes. . . . I was not hasty but retain'd it in my Heart, near half a Year, before I disclosed it to her. But now in the 7th Month, she having two Sisters going to Pennsylvania, and accompanying them to Bristol, I having acquainted her Father with it, and had his Consent, went after them . . . I accompany'd my Friend and her Sisters on Ship-Board, in King's-Road, where we took leave of them and the rest, and returned with her to the City, and next Day homeward with her, and by the Way laid the thing before her, which she in due time receiv'd and closed with."²

Towards the beginning of 1684, Sarah Hurd and two other Friends of Long Sutton were imprisoned in Ilchester. Sarah was dangerously ill at the time, "being stowed up among others, in a close House."³ John Whiting made a protest to the jailer, with the result that soon afterwards he [John Whiting] was sent at night to "an old dismal Room . . . called Black-Friers, which," he says, "I went down into by a Ladder, and was lock'd down at Night, with a Trap door over my Head," Davis, the jailer, swearing "that we should never come out, or see one another again, all his time . . . and yet in two Weeks time, he let me out again, and her also, both in one Day (the 17th of the 3^d Month) after she had been in Egypt (the Room so called) five Weeks."³

¹ John Whiting, born at Nailsea, 1656, died in London, 1722. He was a scholarly man and will always be remembered for his bibliographical work (see article by Isaac Sharp in THE JOURNAL iv. 7-16). In 1708 he issued a *Catalogue of Friends' Books*. He published an account of his own life and experiences in 1715, under title *Persecution Expos'd*. This is a valuable authority for early Somersetshire Quakerism.

² *Persecution Expos'd*, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.* p. 109.

We must next turn to the minutes of Ilchester Monthly Meeting for progress in the romance.

At y^e monethly meeting y^e last of y^e 5th mo 1684 p^rsent at Jvelchester.

John Whiting haveing this day p^rposed a Marriage betweene himselfe & Sarah Hurd, And it being questioned his intimacy form^{ly} wth Eliz : David this meeting doth see meete y^e y^e s^d Eliz : be spoaken wthall, to enquire how things form^{ly} was betweene them, And therefore it is refered to Elias Osborne, Richard Lincolne & Jasper Batt to speake wth her accordingly & give an acc^t thereof at y^e next monethly meeting.

At y^e monethly meeting at Jvelchester y^e 28th of y^e 6th mo. 1684.

Touching y^e business betweene John Whiting & Eliz : Davies y^e last meeting, referd to Elias Osborne, Richd Lincolne & Jasper Batt & an acc^t being this day given to this meeting That they haveing talked wth her, doe finde y^e John Whiting did give sufficient ground of expecta^{cion} to Eliz : David to have had him to her husband & y^e upon y^e consider^{cion} of y^e whole matter, y^e meeting doth not see at p^rsent wth sufficient ground he had to leave her And therefore doth judg y^e therein he hath gone out of truth & don y^e s^d Eliz : great wrong therefore he ought to acknowledge & condemne y^e same, And so do leave y^e whole to Gods witness in his owne conscience.

The further p^rceedings in this matter, is referd to y^e next monethly meeting when Eliz : David is to be p^rsent wth John Whiting, face to face, unless friends can be other satisfied in y^e meane time.⁴

It is puzzling that the foregoing minutes do not appear in the volume of Ilchester Monthly Meeting Minutes 1668-1686/7. John Bright Clark writes: "I have particularly referred to the minutes of the two meetings you name in your letter, viz., 5 mo., 1684, and 28th of 6 mo., 1684, and though meetings were held exactly on those days and John Whiting and Thomas Hurd are recorded as being present at both meetings, yet no such minutes as you quote are recorded, as far as I can see." And yet, from the extracts which follow, taken from the above-mentioned minute book, it is clear that the matter had been before the Meeting at some recent date.

At y^e Monthly Meeting held at Ilchester y^e 26th of y^e 12th Mo., 1684-5.

The business between J.W. & S.H. was moved at this Meeting, but friends judging it better to stay longer from 'permission' there-of, it was for the present put off.

At y^e Monthly Meeting held at Ilchester y^e 28th of y^e 3rd mo., 1685.

John Whiting having proposed his taking Sarah Hurd of Long Sutton, daughter of Thomas Hurd to wife there having been a stop to

⁴ These two minutes have been copied from a seventeenth century MS. in D. (Dix MSS. G. S4).

the receiving of this proposal for sound reasons formerly : the Meeting do now permit. The proposal as referred to Anne Onsley and Susan Perris and Robert Barton to make enquiry concerning the clearness of Sarah Hurd and its referred to the M. Meeting of the Northern parts of this county to certify in relation to John Whiting in order to their proceeding.

Verily these Friends of the early day had many difficulties to surmount for the accomplishment of marriage with due regard to the maintenance of discipline. But John was not easily deterred, and evidently wished to avoid further delay. The next Monthly Meeting for the North Division of the County was to take place the very next day at Hallatrow, and, as we find from the following minutes that the request was laid before that Meeting, John Whiting probably had to make hasty preparation for a cross country journey on horseback. Are we critical in thinking that *eight* months was an unnecessarily long time to take in making enquiries and granting the desired certificate ?

At a Monthly Meeting at Hallowtrow held y^e 29th of y^e 3 mon. 1685.

An intention of marriage was this day proposed by John Whiteing of Nailsie between him and Sarah Hurd of long sutton Daughter of Thomas Hurd of Somerton & it is refered to Arthur Thomas, Edmond Beaks, Gabriel Dais, Richard Thomas or any two of them to enquire into y^e Cleernes of y^e said John & to giue friends an account thereof at our next monthly meeting.

At a Monthly Meeting at Brisslington y^e 29th of y^e 11th Month [1685].

Whereas formerly at a Monthly Meeting at Hallowtrow John Whiting of Nailsy proposed an intent of Marriage with Sarah Hurd of Long Sutton & friends of this Meeting doe agree to giue him a sertificate that he is Cleare as far a[s] can be found or heard of from all other women in this part of the Country.⁵

Under date 1685 John Whiting summarizes his proceedings with Friends in the following words :

I had intended this Spring, to have proceeded in Marriage with my dear Friend, S. Hurd, having proposed it to the Monthly Meeting she belong'd to, which was then held at my Chamber . . . and went to my own Monthly Meeting (on the North side of Mendip) which was then held at John Dando's, at Hollotrow, the 29th of the 3^d month) for

⁵ From Minutes of the Monthly Meeting of Friends in the North Division of Somersetshire, 1667-1688, in D.

a Certificate (which I afterwards had), but the Troubles⁶ breaking out, prevented it one Year longer.⁷

"The Troubles" were very real to the Friends of Long Sutton, Sarah Hurd having several relatives (not "Friends," John Whiting remarks) in the Duke's Army. Her house was the centre of a skirmish.

Our story nears a close. John Whiting was again in Ilchester Jail, this time chained to John Hipsley, and suffering great hardship. Under date 1686, he writes:

Being now at Liberty, I proceeded to Marriage with my dear Friend, Sarah Hurd, which was accomplished by taking each other Husband and Wife, in a public Meeting, appointed on purpose, the 20th of the 3^d Month, 1686.⁸

It is not easy to understand why Somersetshire Quarterly Meeting could not rest "easy" with John Whiting's procedure, which appears to have been so very decorous, but the fact remains that the following minute of censure is recorded in the Quarterly Meeting books, and the marriage entry does not find a place in the Registers of the Society of Friends. Should John Whiting's "Paper of Condemnation" ever come to light, it may explain the situation.

At y^e Q^{ly} meeting at J^{vel}chester y^e 24th of y^e first mo. 1686/7.

Touching y^e manner of John Whittings Marriage, & his Certificate mentioning its being published at sevrall meetings of y^e people called quakers, and friends signeing of it, as if it were in y^e unity of friends, & y^e occasion of offence & devisiō thereby given amongst friends, & going to a place at such a distance from y^e place, where y^e s^d marriage had bin long in debate (but new^r allowed by y^e monethly meeting) friends of this meeting do Judge it all for condemnation And y^t for y^e future no such p^{re}sident be followed by any friends and Jo Whiting hath given forth a pap to condemne his practise therein, w^{ch} is on y^e fyle And y^e y^e not p^{ro}duceing the s^d Certificate according to y^e order of y^e monethly meeting is for Judgment, & a violaⁿ of thir order, & an evill example for y^e future.⁹

John Whiting removed to London in 1699. The following entry on the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings is evidence of the great esteem in which he was held by Friends at the time of his death:—"16th of

⁶ Referring to the unsettlement in the South of England in consequence of the landing of the Duke of Monmouth in Dorsetshire.

⁷ *Persecution Expos'd*, p. 140.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 161.

⁹ Somersetshire Q.M. Minutes, 1684-1716 (in D.).

Twelfth Month 1722. No Meeting for Sufferings on account of the burial of our much-valued and truly serviceable ancient friend, John Whiting."

M. ETHEL CRAWSHAW.

Quakers' Petition re Governor Belcher

Minehead ye 29th 11^{mo}
(January) 1739.

Francis Whitworth }
& Thomas Carew } Esq^{rs}

We are lately Informed That Strong Endeavours are making with the Kings Ministers to deprive Governor Belcher of his Governments in New England, And as that Gentleman has given demonstrable Evidence on all Occasions of his regards & Attachment to our Friends the People calld Quakers under his Government and more Particular by his Influence a Law has been past exempting our Friends from Taxes to the Maintenance of the Ministers there, In Gratitude we earnestly Request your favour and Kind Interposition on behalf of the Said Governor with the Ministry & especially the Duke of New Castle in whose Province the Affair principally lyes, And we beseech your Indulgence and Countenance to the Bearer hereof our fr^d Rich^d Partridge to whom we refer for further Information in the Affair wherein you willt greatly oblige & Serve

Your Friends

JOHN DAVIS	THOMAS FREEMAN
JOHN DEVONSHEIR	JOSEPH DEVONSHEIR
JN ^s (? JN ^o) DAVIS JUN.	ABRAHAM CLOTHIER
JOHN READ	ROB ^t DAVIS

[Direction]

To

Francis Whitworth }
& Thomas Carew } Esq^{rs}

In

London^r

Description of a Dinner Party at Woburn Abbey attended by Queen Victoria¹

My dearest Maria,²

Thy very welcome letter arrived on first day morning and truly glad we were to hear about thee—it seemed long since we parted and now it seems such a while since this day week. I am afraid thou wast sadly tired with the walk to Reeds³ after such a day of travelling and fatigue, however I was thankful thou hadst arrived in safety.

After thou had left, I felt very flat, so I persuaded thy Aunt to accompany me to the Park to endeavour to gain another look at our Queen. We had a pleasant walk there but after waiting, I should think almost an hour, we left the Abbey. I felt inclined to see Jas Forbes if I could, but Maria⁴ preferred returning home at once and I could not persuade her to wait with me a little longer—not hardly a quarter of an hour after she had left me I met him and he most politely invited and urged me to stay awhile at his house as the Queen intended taking a ride early in the afternoon, so I did wait and had a capital view of her as she drove off from the vestibule.

J. Forbes then told me he could not allow me to return home to tea as he had just rec^d a most kind offer from Mr. Stanhope (brother to the Duchess) to bring four or five friends to the Abbey at 8 ocl^k to see the Queen and all the nobility at Dinner—and he invited me to be one of the party. This was too tempting to be refused, so I took tea with him & his family and about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 we went to

¹ From the original lent by Henry Corder, of Bridgwater. The notes have been compiled from *Micah Corder* by Francis Corder Clayton, privately printed, 1885.

² Maria Thorp (born 1809), daughter of Thomas and Abigail Thorp (*née* Corder), of Chelmsford.

³ "Reeds," the name of the farm-house, at Roxwell, a village near Chelmsford, the home of Thomas and Mary Corder and their family.

⁴ Maria Corder (born 1793), daughter of John and Ruth Corder, and therefore sister to the writer of the letter. She lived at Dunstable.

the Abbey and saw the dinner table set ready, and such a splendid sight I never witnessed before.

There were to be 26 of the party—it was a long table oval at each end—from nearly one end of the table to the other stood a magnificent plateau of silver, most richly chased, on which stood vases of alabaster filled with the most exquisite artificial flowers, between which were interspersed figures of the Graces & Heroes, animals, &c all in alabaster—with small lamps of a most delicate description throwing a pale light over the whole. This plateau occupied so much of the table that only room enough was left round the sides for the plates, glasses &c to stand with one dish at each end.

All the plates, dishes and covers were that night of silver—the evening previous every thing was gold—thou mayst form some idea of the quantity when I tell thee that it occupied the waiters *two hours & a half* to carry the plate for dinner from the butler's pantry to the dining room—and when I saw the room all this was arranged on side tables. There were a great many splendid massive salvers placed round the room, I suppose chiefly for show. Altogether it was far too gorgeous for description. As it was near 8 o'clk. we went down to the hall to be out of the way, and when the clock struck, the Band played "God save the Queen" and the party immediately entered the dining room.

When the first course was removing we were allowed to go up, and by standing in the adjoining room we could peep thro' without being perceived. The Queen & Prince sat at the centre of the table on the right hand side, the Duke of Bedford on the left of the Queen and the Duchess by the Prince. The Duke of Wellington exactly opposite the Queen. Many others we could easily distinguish. The Queen was the most simply attired of all the ladies, she wore a black satin dress made very plain—nothing over her shoulders, and round her neck a plain black necklace united by a small black heart—her hair combed quite straight and a wreath of small white roses round her head; she looked very sweet—tho' she is certainly a very plain person. The Prince looked *really beautiful*; I think I never saw a young man look so interesting and handsome.

We were amused to see how all the company seemed to be enjoying their dinner, they ate very heartily and without any ceremony—indeed I thought the Queen took her food almost vulgarly fast, her mouth is not pretty when she is eating. Some of the ladies were much more dressed than the Queen, particularly about the head, the Duchess of Sutherland looked splendid.

I cannot tell thee how I longed for thee to be with me, it was all I seemed to want. After we had staid as long as we thought prudent we were allowed to see the dessert all ready to be carried up. It was most beautiful, every thing, plates, dishes, &c., rich cut glass. The dishes contained pine apples, grapes, melons, peaches, nectarines, preserved fruits and many things we could not tell any thing about. There were sweetmeats of the most fantastic description—standing *a foot* high, of divers colours and as thin as bonnet wire but quite stiff and indeed more like wire than anything else; the fruit knives & forks of gold with jasper handles of the most exquisite beauty. I certainly never imagined any thing could be so splendid as the whole set out was, it is quite beyond my power of description. . . . we hear the Queen was so well pleased that she talks of coming again another year, but many doubt whether the Duke will wish for the honour again very soon—some say it has cost them £30,000, but we think 10,000 more likely. . . . Forbes says there were 150 beds made up at the Abbey.

I remain thy ever tenderly attached

8th mo. 4th 1841

Aunt Lucy.⁵

[Addressed]

Mary Corder,⁶

Roxwell Road,

Chelmsford,

Essex.

M. Thorp.²

⁵ Lucy Corder, daughter of John and Ruth Corder, married in 1836 to William F. How, of Aspley Guise, Beds. She was sister to Susanna Corder, the well-known Quaker writer.

⁶ Mary Shewell married, in 1809, Thomas Corder, son of John and Ruth Corder, and was therefore Aunt to the recipient of the letter, Maria Thorp.

Humphry Smith and his Volume of Tracts, 1658

IN the 10th month 1658 Humphry Smith, of Herefordshire, caused to be bound together a collection of fifty Quaker pamphlets published during that year. At the beginning of this volume, now before us, are seven pages in manuscript, the first four of which are addressed to his son Humphry. He writes:

"And for thy further directin in the narrow way of Life, haue J with Care Causid this booke to be bownde vp for thee, in it to reade the eternel truths of God written by his saruants and faithful suffringe ministers."

The concluding paragraph of this letter runs:

"This writen in tendornies of Love the 23 of the 12^{mo} 58 bing a prisnor of Jesus Christ in this litle stinkinge Lowtsy smoke hole at winchister Calid the Comun goale & house of Coretion, where for the truth of my father J haue suffrid bonds this 12 months, who am thy father in the flesh

"Calid HUMPHRY SMITH."

A postscript is added: "And see that this booke be kept safe & not spyld any way that in years to Come, agis may read and see my Loue to the seed."

Humphry Smith's injunction to safe-keeping has been so well regarded that after 256 years the pamphlets are in an excellent state of preservation; the volume has been sent up to D. for inspection by its owner, Gilbert Gilkes, of Kendal.

Other MS. additions appear in the volume, in contemporary handwriting; and on the last page is a recipe "To make Jnke"—

"Take one quart of wort, y^e first runn, neere $\frac{1}{2}$ a pound of Galls, cut y^e galls in peeces & put them into y^e wort, and let it stand 2 or 3 dayes & stir it together and then straine it, & then put 2 oz^s of gum arabacke, and 2 q^{rs} of Green Coppris into it, & stir it together, and Let it stand 2 or 3 dayes Longer."

In pencil on the fly-leaf are the words "Peter Bedford presented by B. G. Gilkes." The following explanation is kindly supplied by Gilbert Gilkes:—"The book never went out of our family, but had no doubt come into the possession of my grandfather, Benjamin Gilbert Gilkes, through his having married Marion Bedford, who was Peter Bedford's sister. Peter Bedford was my great uncle. He was the son of Isaac Bedford, who married Mary Smith, the daughter of the Smiths of Felsted and Bardfield. It is through my grandmother, Marion Bedford, that I trace descent from Humphry Smith."

In Humphrey Smith's Testimony to his father, printed in *A Collection of . . . Writings and Faithful Testimonies . . . of Humphrey Smith*, 1683, he refers to "words he wrote to me in a Volume of Books he caused to be bound for me, 'That I should keep that Book safe, and not spoiled any way, that in years to come, Ages may read and see my love to the Seed.'"

Friends in Current Literature

The Progress of Eugenics, by Dr. Caleb Williams Saleeby (London : Cassell & Company, Ltd., 1914, 7s. 6d. net).

Dr. Saleeby is not a Friend, yet as he bears the Friendly name of his grandfather, Dr. Caleb Williams of York, his book may well receive a notice in THE JOURNAL of the Friends Historical Society. Apart from this the references to Sir Francis Galton, "the august master of all eugenists," to Lord Lister and Professor Karl Pearson, all of Quaker extraction, afford an additional reason for it. The work is full of interest even for the general reader who may not be able to follow its more abstruse portions, and for its educational value it should be read by all educationists.

"Genetics, the science of heredity," must take the first place amongst the foundation sciences upon which that of eugenics is built. "Nature and nurture" are "the factors that make the individual noble or base, healthy or diseased, wise or foolish, clever or stupid, kind or cruel," and each is essential for "the making of noble individuals." Chapters on positive, negative and preventive eugenics are followed by "The Eastward Window," containing "no real conclusion," but a hopeful outlook for the future.

The chapter on "Positive Eugenics—the encouragement of worthy parenthood" commences with a valuable quotation on "the hereditary transmission of disease" from "Criminal Responsibility of the Insane," published by the writer's grandfather, Caleb Williams (referred to above), in 1856. Elsewhere the writer speaks of his "great teacher, Sir Jonathan Hutchinson," as "a pupil of Dr. Caleb Williams long ago, learning from him to take note of heredity."

The value of the records of the Society of Friends, both cis and trans-Atlantic, as helps to historical study, has again been evidenced by the publication of the December issue of the University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences—*Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691-1740*, by Susan Martha Reed, Ph.D. (University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 208, price \$1.05).

Dr. Reed spent some time at Devonshire House a year or two ago, studying the Quakerism of her period in official documents—Yearly Meeting Minutes, Meeting for Sufferings Minutes, Book of Cases, Epistles Received and Sent, etc., and also availing herself of printed books.

Dr. Reed states in her Preface that the problem of the process whereby the recognition of the Anglican, Baptist, and Quaker Churches came about "has been found in the records of the Society of Friends in New England and in London."

Chapter V.—"The Quakers and their Allies"—consists of sixty pages. Here our author recounts in detail "the assault made upon the ecclesiastical system of eighteenth century Massachusetts by . . . the Society of Friends," and quotes numerous appeals made locally and

also by Friends in England—an influential body—to the Government of their country.

"If the success of the Quakers of Massachusetts was directly due to the sympathy of Governor Belcher and the changed attitude of the General Court, both of these were in turn dependent upon the political influence of the London Quakers under the Walpole régime. Belcher recognised their importance and adopted their cause with a view to future support from them; the General Court saw the repeated successes of the Quakers with the Board of Trade, and realized the uselessness of continued resistance" (p. 146).

John Dymond Crosfield writes that incidental references to Friends occur in *English Church Life from the Restoration*, by J. Wickham Legg (London: Longmans, 1914). Perhaps the most interesting reference is that to Charles Leslie (1650-1722):

"In the same strain a Dissenting Non-juror asserts that Leslie's writings against the Quakers and Deists had brought many of these into the Church of England: 'And in that very year was born the Reverend Mr. Charles Lesley, whom God was pleased to make His instrument immediately and mediately of converting above 20,000 of them from Quakerism, Arianism and Socinianism.'" (p. 17)

The reference is from "A Letter . . . concerning the validity of Lay Baptism," by Philalethes [who seems to be the Hon. Archibald Campbell], 1738.

A very handsome volume is "The Pennells' Philadelphia"—*Our Philadelphia*, by Elizabeth Robins Pennell, illustrated by Joseph Pennell, "a book of Personal Experiences more entertaining than a Novel. The story of a Life and of a City of Surprises" (Phila. and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 10½ by 7½, pp. 552, 30s. net). There are, of course, numerous references to Friends, and among the ninety illustrations are several of a Friendly character.

Wilbur Kelsey Thomas, A.B., B.D., Ph.D., has presented a type-written copy of his Thesis written for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is entitled *The Social Service of Quakerism*. After a full bibliography and general Introduction, the subject is treated under the following heads:—Capital Punishment, Education, Indians, Insane, Peace, The Poor, Prisons, Slavery, Temperance, Vice.

Wilbur K. Thomas, whose home is at Boston, spent some time in the Library in the Autumn of 1913.

In My Youth: From the Posthumous Papers of Robert Dudley (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1914, \$1.35 net), is a story of a Friends' settlement in Indiana, in pioneer days, some seventy years ago. "But yesterday in point of time; in the ways of life as remote as the Middle Ages."

It is evident that the writer grew up amid the surroundings he describes, and it is just as evident that as he advanced in years he became less attached to Friends. His father—Stephen Dudley—is a fine

character, respected in all the country-side, never at a loss whether it is a house to be built or shoes to be made for the family. With this exception other members of the "New Settlement" are uneducated and appallingly narrow-minded. The setting of the story appears to be near Richmond, Indiana; although the place-names are disguised, it is easy to see behind the veil in such names as "Nopplis" (Indianapolis) and "Sin Snatty" (Cincinnati).

A delightful description is given of hospitality at Quarterly Meeting time:—"Immediately after the close of the first session of the meeting they began to arrive—indeed a few were on hand before. They came on foot, on horseback, in wagons—singly, by twos, by families—and everyone, no matter what his name or condition, was heartily welcomed and provided for." . . . "It was expected that the young women who came would kindly assist in waiting on the table and washing the dishes, and that the married women would attend to the making-up of the beds, and the general care of the house. But further than this, the entertainment was as free as the air and as generous as old Mother Earth herself" (pp. 138, 139).

Benjamin "Seefoam" (Seebohm) was an honoured guest from England, his knowledge of the outside world, and view of life generally, was a revelation to these back-woods people. "He preached no dogmas, . . . his teachings related not to a future life and unfathomable mysteries, but to the duties, the amenities and the possibilities of the life that now is" (p. 146). When asked by Benjamin Seefoam why he did not subscribe to a newspaper and keep in touch with world events, Stephen Dudley replied: "Newspapers, so far as I can learn, have an evil influence. . . . When I and other Friends came here to found this New Settlement, we came with the fixed determination to keep ourselves and our homes unspotted from the world" (p. 146). It is a relief to find later in the book that "The New Era" is subscribed for, and the family sit entranced, listening to the story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," read aloud as it appeared week by week. This leads the family to give practical help to escaped slaves.

As might be expected, Quaker references abound in *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal*, by Francis Nicholson and Ernest Oxon (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 9 by 6, pp. 677, £1 1s. net). We shall hope to give some further notice of this book in the next issue of THE JOURNAL.

A volume connected with the West Country has appeared from the pen of the late Francis A. Knight—*The Heart of the Mendip* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 547 pp., 8s. 6d. net).

This book will have a special interest for lovers of Sidcot School and the surrounding country. The account it gives of the History, Archaeology and Natural History of various parishes in the vicinity of Winscombe, is the result of careful and extensive research. It contains a number of illustrations and a map of the district.

William Charles Braithwaite, who has done such valuable work as a Quaker historian, shows his versatility as a writer by the issue of *Foundations of National Greatness: a Scheme of Study* (London: National Adult School Union, 1s. net).

In the Preface the author states that "The present scheme of study deals with the permanent factors of national growth in close connection with our history and with the home-problems which confront us, and the world-problems which face our Western civilization."

The book is divided into twelve studies, and a list of reference books is appended.

The Fellowship of Silence, being experiences in the Common Use of Prayer without words (London: Macmillan & Co., 4s. 6d. net). A chapter on "Silent Worship" is from the pen of the late Thomas Hodgkin, and L. Violet Hodgkin writes on "A Friends' Meeting in a Church." "The Surrender of Silence," and "The Colour of Silence." The three other contributors are High Church Anglicans.

Joshua Rowntree, a pamphlet of 24 pp., being a collection of various short articles written since his death (Yorkshire 1905 Committee, Malton, Yorks, 2d.). A reproduction of Percy Bigland's painting forms the frontispiece, and there is a charming picture of Joshua Rowntree's cottage at Stainton Dale, from one of his own paintings.

Fifty Years' Story of the Bedford Institute, 1865-1915, by Alfred Tuke Alexander (Bedford Institute Association and Headley Brothers, 55 pp., 6d. net).

The portraits introduced are of those who have taken a leading part in the development of the work, with the addition of some of the early and less known workers. J. Rendel Harris contributes a "Foreword," in which he says: "But the experiments do not exist apart from the experimenters . . . the record of these years of faithful service is a record of many saintly names . . . of whom we say thankfully that some of them continue into this present, even if others have—as in duty bound—fallen asleep."

The brochure is a revelation of the wide-reaching influence of the Bedford Institute Association.

Quaker Women, 1650-1690, by Mabel Richmond Brailsford (Duckworth & Co., London, pp. 340, 7s. 6d. net). As we go to press we welcome Miss Brailsford's book from the publishers. We must postpone a detailed notice until the next issue of THE JOURNAL. Sufficient here to state that it is a scholarly work, showing careful research among the original documents of the early days of the Society. The Author possesses a good style and is in thorough sympathy with her subject. Elizabeth Hooton, Margaret Fell, Mary Fisher, and Barbara Blaugdone are four of the principal figures in the record, which covers only forty years of the Society's history.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- D.—The Reference Library of London Y.M., at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.
Camb. Jnl.—*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.
F.P.T.—“*The First Publishers of Truth*,” published by the Friends Historical Society, 1907.
H.S.P.—The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, located at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

THE WILL OF JOHN BELLERS.¹

—I, John Bellers, late of London Merchant but now of Coln St. Alwins² in the county of Gloucester Gentn being at this time of sound mind and memory but calling to mind the certainty of death and the incertainty of the hour and time thereof do make and declare this to be my last will and testament in manner and form following. And first I commit my body to the earth to receive such an interment as my executors hereinafter named shall in their discretion think fitt or as I may hereafter give directions. And as

¹ Extracted from the Principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice. In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (169 Romney). Charles R. Simpson called our attention to this interesting document at Somerset House. Our thanks are due to him for much of the information contained in the notes.

² The residence of John Bellers at Coln St. Alwyns had been formerly the home of Giles and Elizabeth Fettiplace, parents of Frances, wife of John Bellers. The estate remained in the possession of their descendants until the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was sold to Sir Michael Hicks Beach and others (article by W. C. B[owly] in *The Friend* (Lond.), 1861, p. 176).

to that worldly estate which God hath been pleased to intrust me with I give devise and bequeath the same as followeth. Imprimis I give devise and bequeath to my cozen Anne Bellers of Upton in the county of Worcester forty shillings a year during her life And I give to such servants as shall dwell with me at the time of my decease and twelve months before the sum of five pounds each. Item I give to my daughter Mary³ the wife of Joseph Ingram and to the heirs of her body and for want of such issue to her right heirs for ever all those houses and gardens thereunto belonging at Greenwich in the county of Kent now lett unto Richard Walker and to George Creed Weaver and late in the occupation of Philip Nutt and one piece of ground lately held by Thomas Norman Brewer and now by Captain Medcalfe who married his widow lett for thirty shillings per annum on his or their undertennants I having by deed settled some years since several houses in Greenwich aforesaid in the occupation of the said Thomas Norman or his undertennants upon my said daughter

³ Mary (c. 1689-1751) married Joseph, son of William Ingram, in 1710.

Mary Ingram and the heirs of her body with diverse remainders over in lieu of lands at Little Aulne in the parish of Austin Cantlo in the county of Warwick and lands at Lemhill in the parish of Letchford in the county of Gloucester which she and her husband Joseph Ingram have settled by Deed upon their sister Theophila⁴ and her husband John Eliott Merchant then of Falmouth and now of London and their heirs. And I hereby confirm the marriage settlement which I made at the marriage of my said daughter Theophila the now wife of the said John Eliott in which settlement I am bound to leave in the hands of trustees the sum of one thousand pounds at my decease to be settled on them the said John Eliott and Theophila his wife and the heirs of their bodies.⁵ Item I give to the Committee of Friends Workhouse⁶ that

⁴ Theophila, the second daughter, was born in 1695; she married John Eliot in 1719. Her portrait in oils is in the possession of Henry Howard, of Stone, near Kidderminster, a photographic reproduction, measuring 11 in. by 9 in., has just been obtained for D., through the good service of Eliot Howard, of Buckhurst Hill, Essex.

⁵ John and Theophila Eliot had three daughters, Frances, Rebecca, and Mary, only one of whom married, namely Rebecca, to Sir John Bridges, Kt. (*Eliot Papers*, I. p. 4).

⁶ John Bellers was the moving spirit in the establishment of this institution at Clerkenwell in 1702. After many changes both in locality and purpose, it is now represented by the Friends' School at Saffron Walden, Essex (*Sketch of Two Hundred Years*, by James B. Crosfield, 1902).

are or shall be appointed by the People called Quakers to take Care of the poor amongst them in London the sum of one hundred pounds on condition that my said daughters Mary Ingram and Theophila Eliott or the survivor of them or their heirs or posterity shall and may if they think fitt have the nomination and appointment of one child to be kept in their Workhouse from time to time as one child goes out to have Liberty to put another child in they being in Health and conforming to the Work Orders and meathods thereof and not else Item I give to my cosen Thomas Church⁷ what things I had from Kensington that were my sister Elizabeth Fettiplaces⁸ (the plate only excepted). Item my will is that all my printed Books and papers that have been or shall be by me printed shall be reprinted in one volume whereof some to be printed on good large paper and well bound in Turkey Leather and one of them to be presented to

⁷ According to a marriage certificate in Friends' Library, Arch Street, Philadelphia, Thomas Church married Theophila, daughter of Giles and Elizabeth Fettiplace, in 1693 (Information from George Vaux of Philadelphia, 1906). This would make Thomas Church *brother-in-law* to John Bellers, and not *cousin*, but there may have been some relationship before marriage.

The minutes of the Six Weeks Meeting (1700) show that Thomas Church left money to Clerkenwell Workhouse, and various legacies for the service of Friends. He died in 1699.

⁸ Probably refers to his wife's sister, Elizabeth, who died unmarried in 1716. Her grave is in Friends' Burial Ground, Cirencester.

the Envoy of every Sovereign Prince and State in Europe who shall have such Envoys residing at our British Court for their respective Masters perusal and one to every publick library in London and Westminster and to the two publick Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge.⁹ Item I give to my cousin Thomas Church a trunk of linnen or so much as is in it which my sister Elizabeth Fettiplace left at Cowne Allens at the time of her decease And I further give in trust to my Cozen Jacob Harvy Merchant and to my cozen John Mucklow Silkman for the following uses All those my lands tenements and hereditaments being at Poulton in the county of Wilts which are not otherwise by deed already settled on my son Fettiplace¹⁰ And also those my lands lying in Kennerton in the county of Warwick And also those my lands and hereditaments which are at Ratcot in the county of Oxford And also those my lands and hereditaments lying at Lemhill in the parish of Langford in the county of Berks and also all those my copyhold messuages lands tenements and hereditaments lying in Islington in the county of Middlesex which are in the Mannour there belonging to Sir John Austin where I surrendered the estate to the use of my last will And also all my lands lying in the Provinces of Pensilvania and West New Jersey in America And also all those my leasehold messuages lands and tenements

⁹ Unfortunately this instruction does not appear to have been carried out. Joseph Smith mentions no such collection of writings, and upon enquiries no copies are to be found in the Libraries mentioned in the will.

with their and every of their appurtenances which are lying and being in Cowne St. Aldwins aforesaid and elsewhere in the county of Gloucester held by lease from the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester together also with all my horses goods utensils and implements of household and other things and coaches and harness or implements belonging to husbandry that shall be there or at Poulton at the time of my decease And also the plate there or at London belonging to me To hold the same leasehold messuages lands tenements and all and every other the freehold premisses and goods and chattels to my said cozen Jacob Harvy and John Mucklow their heirs executors administrators and assigns upon the trusts and to and for the intents and purposes hereinafter limited and appointed and subject nevertheless to the payment of my debts and of the legacies hereinbefore mentioned or shall herein after be particularly mentioned or in any future codicill that I may add to this my will that then all the rents issues and profits as they shall arise yearly off my messuages lands tenements and hereditaments both freehold copyhold and leasehold and all the rest and residue of my estate both reall and personal of what nature or kind-soever shall from time to time be paid to my son Fettiplace Bellers¹⁰

¹⁰ He was the oldest son and appears to have been a person of some note, and a writer on philosophy; his most important work is entitled *A Delineation of Universal Law*. He also wrote a play entitled *Injured Innocence*, produced at Drury Lane in 1732. In addition to being a philosopher and

for and during his natural life and from and after his decease and in case he shall marry a wife and she survive him that then one third part thereof from time to time shall be payd to such wife for and during the term of her natural life and the other two third parts thereof to be payd to his child or children if he shall leave any or leave his said wife ensient or with child of any and which shall be borne within ten months next after his decease for and towards the respective mainteynance of such child or children until he she or they shall attain to his her or their respective ages of twenty one years or day or days of marriage and from and after his her or their arrival to their said respective ages of twenty one years or days of marriage then and in such case my said cozens Jacob Harvey and John Mucklow and the survivor of them or the heirs executors and administrators of such survivor shall and will permit and suffer such child or children and his her and their heirs and assigns to have receive and take the same to his her and their own proper use and uses for ever the same to be divided equally between them share and share alike and to take the same as tennants in common and not as joint tennants and my will and meaning further is that my said cosens Jacob Harvey and John Mucklow and the survivor of them and the heirs executors or administrators of such survivor shall by and out of my estate be payd and

playwright, he was something of a geologist, came into intimate touch with Sir Hans Sloane, and was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1711.

satisfied all such costs charges and expences whatsoever that they or either or any of them may sustain or be put unto for or by reason or means of their or either or any of their transacting and managing of any affairs relating to this my last will and testament and they or either or any of them shall not be charged or chargeable with more moneys than what shall actually come to their respective hands or possessions and that if any loss or damage shall happen to them or either of them by putting out at interest any money which may happen to be payd into either or any of their hands for the uses aforesaid then my mind and will is that my said cosens Jacob Harvey and John Mucklow or either of them or the heirs executors or administrators of the survivor of them shall not in any wise be charged or chargeable therewith or be obliged or made lyable to answer and make good the same but in case my son Fettiplace Bellers's children shall all dye before they come of age or are marryed or there shall be no such child or children then my will and meaning is that my said daughters Mary Ingram and Theophila Eliott shall have receive and take the same to the use of them and the heirs of their bodyes and in default of such issue to them their heirs executors and administrators to be equally divided between them share and share alike and to take as tennants in common and not as joint tennants. Item I give and bequeath to my said son Fettiplace Bellers one hundred pounds one half thereof to be payd to him within one month and the other half within three

months next after my decease and I hereby appoint that the children of my sister Mason¹¹ shall be payd what is due to them from my said son Fettisplace Bellers as also what is due from him to my friend John Askew¹² by and out of the rents issues and profits of my estate As for my books instruments mapps draughts and letters both those that are at London as well as those which are at Cowne Allins in the county of Gloucester I appoint that they shall be kept in one place for the use of all my children and their posterity under the following rules First that every one that shall claim any use of the said Books instruments mapps draughts and letters shall pay their part towards the rent of the room in which they shall be kept except they can procure such room rent free secondly that my three children shall appoint the keeping of them where and by whom as they or the major part of them shall agree upon And as they dye by their children thirdly no one shall take out above five books at a time and those to be returned again in twelve months at furthest Fourthly none that shall receive any books out shall have any more new books out but as

¹¹ Mary, sister of John Bellers, married Cornelius Mason, of London, in 1690.

¹² His name figures frequently in the Upperside Minutes (Bucks.). At the Monthly Meeting at Hunger Hill, 5 mo. 1, 1695, he is described as "heretofore servant to John Bellers, having formerly lived sometime in this County . . . did some tyme since transport himself into Pensilvania" (Minutes in D.). The Meeting issued a certificate on his behalf.

they shall return any or all the books which they had borrowed before And I hereby constitute and appoint my said two cozens Jacob Harvey and John Mucklow to be the Executors of this my last will and testament And I give to each of them twenty pounds And I revoak and make void all former wills by me made and declare this to be my last will and testament but in case any one or more of my children shall endeavour to break in upon this my will in whole or in part or upon the settlements which I have made on my daughters Ingram and Eliott or either of them that then I hereby disannull and make void what I have given them in this my last will except only on shilling In witness whereof to this my last will and testament containing with this sheet three sheets of paper I have subscribed my name to each sheet and affixed my seal to the first and last sheet thereof the third day of March in the eleventh year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George by the Grace of God King of Great Britain &c. Annoq Dui 1724/5 — John Bellers — Signed sealed published and declared by the said testator as and for his last will and testament in the presence of us who have subscribed our names in the presence and at the request of the said testator after the interlineation of these words (and the heirs of their bodyes and in default of such issue to them) between the fourth and fifth lines of the third and last sheet—Hen : Cock (?Cook) Servt to Mr. Bellers—John Bellamy—Nath Bellamy.

I add this as a codicill to my

will lately made I give all my plate to my two daughters Mary Ingram and Theophila Eliot and what bedds or bedding I have at either of their houses I give to them at whose house they are at Witness my hand this fifth of March 1724/5—John Bellers Witness Henrietta Cook I don't give none of the things given to my cozen Tho: Church in my will to either of my daughters—John Bellers.

16th Aug^t 1725.

Which day Appeared personally Fettyplace Bellers of the Inner Temple London Esquire and by virtue of his corporal Oath deposed that he is the natural and lawful son of John Bellers late of Coln St. Alwins in the county of Gloucester deceased who dyed in the month of April last past and that he is very well acquainted with the manner and character of his hand writing having often seen him write and having now seen and perused the paper writing hereto annexed beginning thus I ad this as a codicill to my will and ending thus I don't give none of my things given to my coza Tho: Church in my Will to either of my daughters and signed John Bellers does verily believe the same to be totally wrote and subscribed by and with the proper hand of the said deceased

FETTIPLACE BELLERS

Die praed Dictus Fettyplace Bellers juratus fuit super Veritate Praemissorum coram me Gul: Strahan Surr. Presen Ever: Sayer Norio Pubco.

Proved 27th August 1725.
and Proved 23rd September 1742.

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WOOLMAN.—It is due to English Friends, whose assistance has been very fully appreciated, that some statement should be made as to the progress of the new edition of John Woolman's Journal.

The recent decision to incorporate Woolman's Essays in this volume has doubled the labour, and will involve a certain amount of delay in publication. It is wiser, nevertheless, to endeavour to make the work as complete as possible, since the accuracy which is essential must not be sacrificed by going forward too rapidly. It is fully expected, however, that the work will be ready not later than the coming Autumn.

Unfortunately no copies of John Woolman's "A.B.C." Book for Children have been found in America, the statement in *Friends' Intelligencer* of October 17th to the contrary notwithstanding. Reference was probably intended to several photographs then recently received, of the unique copy preserved in Devonshire House Library, which, however, is the *third* edition. The search it still going on, with the feeling that some attic in Burlington County or Philadelphia must contain the tiny book among its lumber.

The Editor desires to thank those Friends in England who have most kindly furnished valuable notes and information, and will be very glad to have anything further bearing on the life of John Woolman, however apparently unimportant. — AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The Annual Meeting

THE Annual Meeting of the Friends Historical Society was held at Devonshire House during Yearly Meeting. In the absence of the President, James Herbert Midgley, on account of his wife's illness, the chair was taken by Isaac Sharp. In addition to transacting the usual business, those present decided unanimously to send a message of sympathy and good wishes to Norman Penney.

The Meeting was much gratified to hear that James H. Midgley had decided to present the Swarthmoor Hall Account Book to the Society, so that this unique manuscript will now remain in the Devonshire House archives. M. Ethel Crawshaw, Assistant Librarian, read the President's Address, entitled "Two Hundred and Forty Years Ago in Furness," from which we print the following extracts:

As the Swarthmoor Hall Account Book will soon be published,^{*} I thought it might possibly interest members of the Friends Historical Society if I anticipated the complete reproduction by a few notes upon some of the items contained in it.

Having lived for many years in the Furness district, and made a fairly close study of the entries in the Account

^{*} To be published by the Cambridge University Press. The MS. is now all in type, but the work of annotation has been delayed on account of Norman Penney's illness.

Book, these seemingly prosaic details bring to my own mind vivid pictures of the Swarthmoor family and the people living in the neighbourhood. I can only hope to transmit to you a few rough sketches drawn from some of these entries made by Sarah Fell, during the years 1673 to 1678.

There is not time, nor indeed need, for any historical background, but I may just remind you of a few of the great people who were cotemporaries of those whose names are recorded here. Charles II. was King. John Milton was still living, but died in 1674. John Bunyan, released from Bedford gaol in 1672, was busy publishing his *Pilgrim's Progress*, which, before his death in 1688, ran through ten editions. Isaac Walton, beloved of anglers, died in 1683. Christopher Wren was rebuilding the churches of London which had been destroyed in the Great Fire. Evelyn and Pepys were the chroniclers of the day. Butler had written his *Hudibras* and was still alive. Dryden had reached middle age. The philosophers Hobbes and Locke were both living. Amongst other cotemporaries were the artists Sir Peter Lely and Kneller, also the scientists Sir Isaac Newton, whose *Principia* was published in 1687, and Boyle, the noted chemist. The Clergy of the English Church were represented by such men as Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Burnet, and Bishop Ken.

As the price of articles is naturally one of the interesting features of the Account Book, it is well to remember how different were the conditions of property then from what they are now.

The Duke of Ormond, reputed the richest noble of the time, had an income of some £22,000; the average income of a Peer seems to have been about £3,000, and of a Member of Parliament £800. Rent was about one-quarter or one-sixth of what it is now. Of wages I shall have something to say later. Turning to the Account Book, the accounts may be roughly divided as follows:

1. General accounts of the household, including personal purchases.
2. Farm accounts of Swarthmoor Hall, Marsh Grange, and outlying fields at Gleaston, Osmotherly, and other places.

3. Accounts of freightage of vessels taking corn and iron to Liverpool, Bristol and Cornwall.
4. Accounts connected with iron forges and sale of iron.
5. Money lent and returned with or without interest.
6. Taxes and Rates of various kinds.
7. Accounts relating to Meetings of the Society of Friends, the imprisonment of Friends, etc.

Probably the Swarthmoor Hall family were owners or part owners of vessels trading to different seaports; at any rate there are many entries showing that wheat, barley and oats, as well as iron, were shipped to Liverpool, Bristol and Cornwall, and that tin was brought back from Cornwall, possibly from mines in which Thomas Lower had an interest. It seems to have been the custom to provide refreshment when vessels were being loaded or unloaded, of which the following is an example :

July y^e 30^o. by m^o in expence for beere, when the slate
&c was vnloding out of G: Kirkhams
vessel, y^t day; Bro: L: acc^t

.. 000 01 00

In a paper on "The Bloomeries and Forges of Furness," read before the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society some years ago, the Rev. Thomas Ellwood of Torver states that, owing to complaints of the scarcity of wood, bloomeries and forges had been suppressed in the reign of Elizabeth and reopened early in the eighteenth century. It is evident, however, from this Account Book that forges were being worked again as early as 1674—and the probability is that, to a large extent, wood and not coal was used in the smelting.

Many references occur to payment of Poll Tax.² This was the tax instituted in 1380, in the reign of Richard II., which was the immediate cause of the rising of Wat Tyler, and the revolt of the peasants of Southern

² The Poll Act of 1667 (18 Car. 2, cap. 1) was passed for the purpose of raising moneys towards the maintenance of the Dutch War. It was continued 19 Car. 2, cap. 1. Another Poll Act of 29 & 30 Car. 2, cap. 1, with similar provisions, was passed to provide money for a war against France. According to Macaulay (chap. 20), there was a Poll Tax levied in 1694 under St. 5 & 6 William and Mary, cap. 14. George Fox (Swarth. MSS. vii. 165), advised Friends to pay Poll Tax. (Note kindly supplied by William C. Braithwaite.)

England. It was supposed to be levied according to the property and position of the people, but fell the most heavily on the poor. It was finally abolished eleven years from the date of which I am speaking, when William and Mary came to the throne.

Hearth Money³ is referred to; this was a tax levied in 1661, and was particularly odious to the English people for two reasons. It could only be levied by visits of inspection, and it was farmed out to individuals who in exacting its payment did so with the greatest harshness, seizing the goods of the owners if the money was not immediately forthcoming. It, like the Poll Tax, was abolished in 1689.

There are many references to the Society of Friends. Payment for books and papers for meetings, payments towards the building of Lancaster Meeting House (one of the oldest in the country); but most of the entries are payments either into or out of what is called the "Meeting Stock," which was used for the relief of distress and other matters.

How many servants lived at Swarthmoor Hall and Marsh Grange I do not know, but there are many entries dealing with such servants—male and female hired by the year—the men possibly living in cottages on the land belonging to Swarthmoor. The following are a few, with a statement of their wages:

1674.

May y ^e 2 ^d	by m ^o given Adam Chancelhouse over his wages, w ^{ch} is to bee 40 ^s & what I please more	000	01	00
Octo: y ^e 13 ^o	by m ^o p ^d Tho: Caton in full for his wages for 10: weekes & 3: dayes. Moth ^{rs} acc ^t	000	07	02 ³
Nov: y ^e 12 ^o	by m ^o p ^d Mabell Stainton for 4: y ^{rds} of Kearsay for Tho: Caton a Coate, w ^{ch} is to bee in pt for his wages	000	07	08
feeb: y ^e 7 ^o	by m ^o p ^d Tho: Caton in full for his wages for 15: weekes & 1: day, from y ^e 12 ^o of octo: till this day, in w ^{ch} time hee was 10: dayes out upon his owne acc ^t & now all is cleare betwixt vs till this day	000	04	02

³ Collected under the Acts of 13 & 14 Car. 2, cap. 20, and 16 Car. 2, cap. 2.

Anne Standish, another servant at Swarthmoor, came in November, 1675, Edward Braithwaite bringing her over from Lancaster at a cost of 1s. 11d. The year's service was not without its troubles for, in November, 1676, there is the following entry :

1676.

Nov: y^e 21^o by m^o p^d Ann Standish in full for 1: y^{rs} wages

1^{li} 17^s 06^d of w^{ch} Rec^d backe of her for

a Silver spoone shee Lost 8^s & for a pott

shee broke 6^d soe p^d her 001 09 00

She left soon after, when Sister Rachel, overlooking her faults, gave her a shilling.

All through these years one of the most familiar figures at the Hall must have been Peggy Dodgson, charwoman in chief—who seems to have been able to do anything from “scaleing” manure on the fields and “dressinge peates,” to taking the place of Agnes Wayles when she went to her parents’ funeral.

Her name occurs on almost every page, generally in receipt of the same sum paid to the labourers in the vineyard, *i.e.*, one penny a day. This was indeed the usual price paid for the work of women and girls on the farm, as shewn by many entries.

In going through a list of the names of people mentioned in the Account Book, the amazing number of Fells strikes one at once, including a whitesmith, weaver, tailor, farmer, waller, bailiff, and bookbinder.

Probably the most regular visitor to the Hall was John Higgins, the postman. I wonder how often in his life he crossed the Sands to and from Lancaster. Every few days in these five years he came with letters and parcels for the family. According to Macaulay the carriage for a letter under eighty miles was twopence. Sometimes George Fox received four or five in a single day, and occasionally the charge for one letter rose to elevenpence. (At the beginning of the reign of Charles II. the revenue from letters was £20,000—and at the end of it £70,000.)

Besides letters (one with the King's speech in it) Higgins brought a great cheese and three salmon from some friends in Cheshire.

Daniel Cooper brings a chest from Kendal and there is the carriage of

"A Runlett of wine for ffather" from Robert Linton of Newcastle; glue and tobacco pipes 3^d; "A tinn plate for ffather" 5^d; 7 geese 10/-; a whistle for "ffather" 2^d; dried salmon to "ffather's" account 8/2; ink and pipes for him 8^d; 2 Almanacs 1/2 and Juniperberries 1/6.

When George Fox left Swarthmoor he gave John Braithwaite a pair of cloggs value 1s. 3d. From Holland he sent a box with "mapps & holl: Cheeses" by way of Newcastle and Kendal, which duly arrived in December, 1677, under the care of Edward Cooper.

Lawyers' fees were certainly not exorbitant, for Richard Simpson, Attorney, for work connected with the administration of "Uncle Richardson's" estate, only charged sixpence, and for expense about some Osmotherly land both at Dalton and Ulverston, one penny. He bought the Law Books of "Uncle Richardson" for fifteen shillings.

Except when Margaret Fox was away during George Fox's Worcester imprisonment, and for a short time when she accompanied him as far as Sedbergh—on his Southern journey—she seems to have been at Swarthmoor throughout these years. Most of the entries are put down to "Mothers account."

Mary Lower's personal expenditure included white wine, black gallowne, chocolate brought from Lancaster, and cinnamon water made by Jane Gregg of Cartmel.

Early in the accounts there are references to little Margaret Lower having white bread and a little porringer, and then, in May, 1675, £4: 12: 2 is paid for "litle Margrett Lowers funerall," and in that short entry is summed up all the sorrow and the tears that the loss of a first-born bring; but in the same year little "Marjery" was born, who, in spite of childish ills that needed "diacordium [whatever that may have been], Liquerice & annesseeds," lived on and married happily in 1700. Sarah gave her a rattle at the cost of one penny.

Isabel Yeamans and her boy Willie were mostly at the Hall at this time. As shewn by the entries, she used to visit the Meetings at Kendal, Hawkshead,

etc., and when George Fox left Swarthmoor in 1677 she went with him and paid a visit to the Princess Palatine.

One can easily imagine that Willie Yeamans would be made much of by his grandmother and the three maiden aunts, Sarah, Susannah and Rachel. He had white bread, and shoe buckles, a knife of course, and gingerbread. As to education, he began with a "primer," which cost 3d. Then Richard Gowth, "schoolmr," was called in and was paid 1s. and again 2s.; afterwards he went for a time to a school at Pennington, and Jane Marshall was paid 2s. for sixteen days for his dinner, as it was too far to come home. When he had a cold he was dosed with garlick and "methridate." He was never a strong lad, and died at his Aunt Sarah's house in Essex at the age of twenty-seven or twenty-eight.

Among the things put down to Susannah's account are a looking glass, 4d., "m^o p^d Higgins for bringinge some phisicall things from Lanc^r." She so admired little Bethia Rous's writing that as a stimulus to further excellency she sent her two hundred quills. She bought a black hood for 4s., and two black round whisks for 4s. 4d. (these were, I believe, tippets). Brimstone 1d., and Ale—Sister Susannah's diet drink, 1s. 1d.

I am sorry to say there are at least two entries of tobacco pipes for Sister Susannah, though no doubt they were only bought as presents, or let us suppose to blow soap bubbles to amuse the children. That she was kind-hearted the following little history will show:

1677.

Mar: y^e 26^o by m^o p^d Leo: ffells wife, y^t shee p^d Rich:

Petty wife of y^e Nooke in pt of 4^s 6^d for a sheepe, y^t a mastiffe dogg of ou^rs worried longe since, upon sist^r Susannahs acc^t because shee was some cause of p^rventing y^e dogg from hanging before .. ooo o2 o6

Rachel wore "allamode whisks," and "vizard masks" and ash coloured petticoates, and bought "vertigrasse to die stockens with." Whether it was due to "vertigrasse dyed stockens" I do not know, but she was ill in 1677, and "40 latches" had to be brought with which to bleed her. That she recovered we all know, because in 1682 she married Daniel Abraham, and

died at the age of seventy-nine, leaving one son, who inherited the estate.

And now, in conclusion, let us turn to a few of the entries relating to Sarah, made by herself in this neatly-kept book. They tell, amongst other things, of how much devolved upon her in connection with the family property, and the work of the Society of Friends. From Thomas Lawson she bought, at the cost of 1s. 6d., "ye younge clarkes Tutor," though I should have thought she could have tutored any clerk! Though we know from other sources that she had learned Hebrew, and was a well-esteemed Minister, and Clerk of the Lancashire Women's Quarterly Meeting, she could enjoy a day at "Millnthorp faire," and, by the way she speaks of her "Grey Robin," it is evident that she was fond of outdoor exercise. She wore, it is true, dove-coloured petticoates—a really Quaker hue—but she had also sky-blue stockings, and bought sky-coloured yarn for Anne Bayley and herself. She looked well after her boy Tom, buying him clothes and keeping his money for him.

It is almost a relief to find that, although she was so careful and executive, even in spite of money-bags for which she gave one penny, she had the misfortune to lose her purse one market day, as the following entry testifies:

1675

Mar: y^e 18^o by m^o I lost out of my pockett in vlvcrstone

Markett, & for callinge it

ooo 13 02

To Sarah Fell I feel we all owe a debt of gratitude for this simple record of family life in the seventeenth century, though it tells us little of passing public events, and little too of the trials and persecutions which they and many others were suffering for their faith. If some of the things I have mentioned seem trivial, and the religious side seems to be almost absent, we may think of the words of Anthony Pearson on his first visit to Swarthmoor years before: "Oh! how gracious was the Lord to me, in carrying me to Judge Fell's, to see the wonder of His power and wisdom,—a family walking in the fear of the Lord, conversing daily with Him, crucified to the world, and living only to God."

JAMES HERBERT MIDGLEY.

John Bellers—Lost and Found

PROMINENT amongst the social reformers of the early days of Quakerism was John Bellers, whose name, though well worthy to be kept in memory, has from time to time during the past two centuries been allowed to remain almost unremembered. Even at Saffron Walden School no portrait, monument, or mural tablet announces to the visitor that the School owes its existence to the proposal of John Bellers, brought before the the Yearly Meeting of 1699, "about the Education and Imploymment of Friends' Children and Imploymment of the poor among Friends." Credit is, however, given to the founder in *Saffron Walden School, a Sketch of Two Hundred Years* [1702-1902], by James Backhouse Crosfield. Happily, during the last twenty years or so, an interest in John Bellers has been aroused, which we hope will be permanent, for we cannot afford to lose touch with the pioneers who have led the way to progress in the great movements for the betterment of mankind. In connection with his name the following is a brief record of slumberings and awakenings.

The active mind of John Bellers by no means worked in a groove, but ranged over a wide area, as is evidenced by the titles of his works, the recital of which occupies about three pages of Joseph Smith's Catalogue, covering the years 1695 to 1724. Amongst the subjects and titles of these are, *Proposals for a College of Industry*; *An Epistle to Friends on Education*; *Essays about the Poor, Manufacturers, Trade, Plantations and Immorality*; *A Caution against Perturbation of Mind, particularly the Passion of Anger*; *Watch unto Prayer*, A consideration for all who Profess they believe in the Light; *Some Reasons for an European State proposed to the Powers of Europe . . . with an Abstract of a Scheme form'd by King Henry the Fourth of France upon the same subject*; *To the Archbishop, Bishops and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury*; *On Election of Members of Parliament*; *On Improvement in Physic in 12 Proposals by which the*

lives of many thousands of rich and poor may be saved yearly ; On employment of the poor ; An Abstract of Advice of George Fox to London Magistrates concerning the Poor ; On Prisons and Hospitals.

Only two or three subsequent editions of any of these works appeared in the life-time of the author. He slumbered long. An American edition of *Watch unto Prayer* was issued in 1802, but it was not until 1818 that Robert Owen resuscitated John Bellers by including *Proposals for Raising a Colledge of Industry* in his "New View of Society." Although references to *Le Grand Dessein*, first published in Sully's *Memoirs*, 1662, and to William Penn's *Essay towards the present and future Peace of Europe* are often to be found, John Bellers, as a writer on the same subject, has for some reason been almost completely forgotten.

The way in which John Bellers was introduced to the notice of Owen, though mentioned in his *Life* by himself in 1857, has till recently escaped attention. Francis Place,¹ the socialist, tailor, reformer and writer, when re-arranging his library and putting aside what was deemed worthless, came across the *Proposals for Raising a Colledge of Industry*, 1695. Struck with its contents, and being, as Owen says, "very much interested" in his [Owen's] "New Views," he took the pamphlet to Owen with the remark, "I have made a great discovery of a work advocating your social views a century and a half ago." Owen circulated 1,000 copies of this tract, and included it in the appendices to his *Life*.²

Awakened by Owen, Bellers was allowed to slumber again until Karl Marx, in *Das Kapital*, the first volume of which was published in 1867, described him as "ein wahres Phänomen in der Geschichte der politischen Oekonomie." Yet another but a briefer slumber followed. In 1895 appeared *Die Vorläufer des Neueren Sozialismus* (the pioneers of later Socialism), being the second part of an exhaustive History of Socialism by E. Bernstein and others. In this work some fifty-five pages

¹ See *Life* by Graham Wallas, 1898.

² See *THE JOURNAL*, 1914, vol. xi. page 93.

are devoted to "Die Quäker bis zu John Bellers," of which a section of some twenty-four pages deals with John Bellers himself. Edward Bernstein, "socialist, politician and writer," member of the Reichstag 1902-1906, for twelve years or so resident in England, made many of his notes for this section in the Office of the Society of Friends at Devonshire House. Having exhausted the Bellers pamphlets at the British Museum, he came to the Reference Library to complete his search.

He calls Bellers' *Abstract of George Fox's Advice and Warning, to the Magistrates of London . . . concerning the Poor, 1724*, his "swansong," adding, a little later on, "In 1725 death snatched from his hand the pen which he had so constantly employed in the interests of the poor."

Since 1895 Bellers has not been allowed to rest. He has a stalwart champion on the other side of the Atlantic in Edwin D. Mead of Boston, well known at the International Peace Congresses. The writer well remembers Mr. Mead's first call upon him at Devonshire House, and his pleasure in finding at last someone who knew anything of or cared anything for the memory of John Bellers.

On this side of the Atlantic a champion appeared in the late Joshua Rowntree, who made a study of the life and work of Bellers and lectured upon the subject in various places.

In his Swarthmore Lecture, 1913, he describes John Bellers as "a most interesting link between the high pressure prophets of the first generation of Quakerism and the philanthropists of its quieter period," adding later that "it is hardly to our credit" that his "ingenious writings on our duties to our neighbours have not yet been re-edited—that they have indeed attracted more attention in Germany than in England." After this we may safely assume that the memory of John Bellers will not be allowed to slumber again. As the following pages will show, the chief sources of information have been tapped for all that throws any light on the life and career of this remarkable man.

ISAAC SHARP.

John Bellers in Official Minutes

JN the long list of Quaker prophets there are few more worthy of our remembrance than John Bellers. He was as a voice crying in the wilderness, calling the world to repent of its sin against the existing social order, and to discover in the "labour of the poor the mines of the rich," which are, he says, of far greater worth than all the silver of Spain. It is in order to throw some little light on the life and work of John Bellers that the following extracts—chiefly from MS. minutes of the various Meetings of the Society of Friends, have been brought together. Possibly, as a result, others may be encouraged in the quest for further information regarding this remarkable man, so that he may receive his rightful place amongst those we honour and love as the bearers of the light in ages past.

John Bellers, born 1654, was the son of well-to-do parents, Francis and Mary Bellers. According to his marriage certificate (in D.) his father was a grocer and citizen of the City of London, though research has failed to elicit the name of the Company of which he was a member, or how he acquired citizenship, whether by patrimony, apprenticeship or purchase.

The earliest mention of Francis Bellers on official minutes is on those of the Six Weeks Meeting under date 1671, and in subsequent years he held various appointments.

In 1677 he was one of a Committee set apart to consider "the bussiness about y^e ground for a Meeteing place for Devonshire house," and ". . . to conclude with the Doctor as they see meete."

Other references show Francis Bellers to have been a Trustee for Long Acre Burying Ground and also for a meeting place at Westminster. He also held responsible appointments on the Meeting for Sufferings. He probably died towards the close of 1679, and it is interesting to find that his son John soon after took up the work laid down by his father, his name

appearing as present at Meeting for Sufferings in First Month, 1680/81. Thus John Bellers, a young man of about twenty-six, would be brought into contact with many prominent members of the Society; at his first meeting George Fox was also present. It may be that the Meeting for Sufferings formed his first introduction to Giles Fettiplace of Coln St. Aldwyns, who afterwards became his father-in-law. They were both present at meetings in 1682 and 1683.

Between the years 1673 and 1683 persecution against Friends increased; and the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings reveal the care and pains taken to assist and relieve. John Bellers appears to have been specially under appointment on behalf of Yorkshire Friends.

The work of dealing with Sufferings occasioned a good deal of deputation work; Judges, Members of Parliament, and King were all in turn interviewed in the interests of Friends, and John Bellers had his due share of this important service. For instance, on the 6th of Eighth Month, 1682, he is appointed to see Judge Atkins respecting York prison; while on the 6th of Ninth Month he is one of three to go and speak to the Earl of Yarmouth about Norwich Meeting House doors being broken down, and Friends kept out of their Meeting.

As correspondent for Yorkshire Bellers came into contact with individual sufferers. On the 4th of Third Month, 1683, he gives account of a Friend at Whitby under suffering, and he is asked to write to him and encourage him. Leeds Friends appear to have undergone considerable persecution, and Bellers is asked on the 11th of Eleventh Month to write to them an answer *re* their sufferings, and again on the 8th of Sixth Month, 1684. It would be interesting to know if any of these letters are extant, for, judging from the only one we have traced, they would surely be of a very interesting and consoling character.

From the year 1683 to the end of the decade, John Bellers is on constant appointment, but our aim in this article must be to indicate where information may be found rather than to multiply extracts.

The interest of John Bellers in the care of the poor in the Society of Friends seems to have been developed

soon after he took up active work in the Society, for in 1679 we find him treasurer of a fund for employing the poor.

The following minutes being of such an interesting character, and illustrating a side of the Society's activities but little known, are given in full. At the Six Weeks Meeting held the 13th of First Month, 1676/7,

Agreed that the Meeting of twelve doe pay to William Meade 100 pounds out of y^e Annuity money in their hands to bee employed as a stock to buy flax to imploy poore freinds in spinning. W^m Meade haveing vndertaken for one yeare to buy the flax & to take care to manage the bussines in supplying each person appointed to receive the flax for each Monthly Meeting wth their proportions and to pay the Spinners, & deliver the yarn to the Weauer, & to keep an acc^t what is expended.

John Osgood & James Claypoole added to Assist W^m Meade in buying the said flax or in any thing else to carry on the work what they can.

Friends were appointed in each Monthly Meeting to receive the flax from William Meade and to dispose of the same. A change is made on 3rd of Tenth Month, 1678, when the following minute is recorded :

It being proposed by the Women freinds that Margery Browne might be the person appointed to sort the flax, & deliver it to the spinners & to ouersee the spinners, & to direct them in their work, It was agreed that shee be employed in it for the present, and when the Cloth in Francis Moores hands is vallued & ready for Sale he is desired to acquaint freinds of it, that it may be sold and it is further agreed y^t frances Poulsted & Mary Ellis doe assist Margery Browne in her service.

A further reference to the business is found in minutes of the 1st of Fifth Month, 1679, when it is resolved

That Jn^o Osgood & Wm. Mead advise y^e ffrds concernd in y^e Linnen Trade & Agree with Anne Whitehead and y^e others concern'd about y^e same.

Again, on the 27th of Eleventh Month, 1679, the following minute is recorded :

William Mead reporting he has one hundred pounds giuen to the stock for setting the poore at worke freinds doe agree that the same be disposed of by the freinds formerly appointed for the said service & to apply them selues to this meeting for aduice at all times as there is occasion : they haue chosen John Bellars to keep the account thereof : and the cash wherein they haue the consent of this meeting.

John Bellers, at this time twenty-five years of age, is a merchant dealing in cloth, the Women's Box Meeting having an account with him in 1680 for "cloth 42 elles att 15^d p elle for poors shifts, 002 12 6."

An account is brought in to the Six Weeks Meeting on the 4th of Twelfth Month, 1683/4, of about £22 in Frances Polsted's hand and about £40 in John Bellers' hand, for employing the poor, "they desiring to know into whose hands it shall be paid." This Meeting agrees that George Barr and Gilbert Macey take an account of the whole proceeds of the trade of John Bellers and Frances Polsted and bring it to next meeting.

Their decision is that fifty pounds shall be paid to "ye poors money keepers," and Ann Whitehead is to dispose of the remainder to women Friends. On the 14th of Eighth Month, 1684, the following minuté occurs:

fifty pounds of ye poors money out of the stock of ye spinning trade is brought in by John Bellers to ye Meeting ye keeps ye poors money.

John Bellers and Frances Fettiplace were married at the Meeting House at Cirencester, 2nd of Ninth Month, 1686.

The original marriage certificate is signed by members of the two families and also by William Penn, Thomas Perry, Oliver Sansom, William Bowly and Thomas Loveday. It would appear that John and his wife went to live in London, for a son was born to them there on the 23rd of Eighth Month, 1687, who was named Fettiplace.¹

For some years, probably from 1690 to 1701, they made their home at the Grange, Chalfont St. Peters, the former abode of Isaac Penington, for there at least four children were born to them,² and registered at Jordans Meeting House. Here John Bellers was brought into touch with John Penington and Thomas Ellwood. Several papers concerning disciplinary measures are preserved bearing all three names; one such, dated 5th of Seventh Month, 1692, relates to honesty in dealing, and is issued by the

¹ The birth of the daughter Mary has not been traced on the Registers, but as she died 1751, aged 62, she must have been born about 1689, possibly while her parents were still living in London.

² Elizabeth Bellers, 28/6/1690; Theophila Bellers, 18/8/1692; Francis Bellers, 20/10/1693; Theophila Bellers, 5/9/1695.

Monthly Meeting for the Upperside of Bucks; at the same meeting John Bellers signs a paper showing that one John White is clear of all others regarding marriage, but is "a man of a weak head scarce able to bear a Draught of strong Drink."

On the 1st of Eighth Month, 1694, High Wycombe Meeting state they are in some straits regarding the expense of a lame Friend of Thame Meeting, Frances Stevens by name, who had been a great charge on that Meeting, she being supposed to be under a distemper called "The Evil," payments for her amounted to £13 1s. 6d. A Friend, Alexander Merrick, had laid out £5 10s. 0d. and was in need of it.

The meeting not having any other stock, out of which to repay Alex: Merrick . . . John Bellers offered to lay down the £5 10. 0. in the behalf of Wiccomb Meeting until the friends of that meeting can raise it, wch they let him know they thought would not be long. Wherefore John Bellers was desired to pay that money to Alex: Merrick as soon as he can, in discharge of the case of Frances Steevens.

On the 3rd of Fourth Month, 1695,

John Bellers acquainted the Meeting that one John Askew (a young Man in y^e Profession of Truth) who formerly lived with him as a servant, & some time since went to live in Pensilvania, but did not take care to get a Certificate to carry with him, hath now (by his ffather, who is likewise going to live there) sent to desire a Certificate from this meeting, with respect to his clearness from engagem^{ts} relating to marriage, & to his Conversation while he lived in this Country.

Appointments for enquiry were made, and at the next meeting a certificate was sent.

On the 7th of Eighth Month, 1695, J. Bellers, with John Penington and Thomas Ellwood and others, is appointed to assist Wycombe Friends in dealing with one Mary Pearce who had brought a great scandal upon Truth.

Various appeals for money are signed by John Bellers, one for loss by fire for one James Smith of Aylesbury in 1692, for two fires in 1698, an appeal issued by Quarterly Meeting at request of Yearly Meeting in 1698 regarding distress in Scotland due to "general failure of crops in that Kingdom for three years."

All the references stamp John Bellers as one broad in his sympathies, with a love for the purity of the Quaker

faith and practice, and as one dealing as a faithful steward with the wealth which God had committed to his care. Apparently John Bellers went to live at Coln St. Aldwyns about the time of Mary Fettiplace's death, 27 iii. 1700/1, for a minute recorded by Gloucester Quarterly Meeting,³ 27th of Third Month, 1701, reads:

Giles Fettiplace of Coln Allwins sent by his son in law John Bellers to acquaint this meeting that he would give £100 if they would order five Friends to take £20 each at interest to be paid to the Quarterly Meeting for the use of the poor of the people called Quakers in the County of Gloucester, and if any of the money should be lost the Quarterly Meeting is to make it up again out of the interest. So Friends returns him due acknowledgements for his love and care and do kindly accept of it leaving it at present to farther consideration and management.

It is rather suggestive that the first mention of John Bellers in this Quarterly Meeting should be dealing with the care of the poor. At the same meeting held at Nailsworth, 27 iii. 1701, Bellers tries to get Gloucestershire Friends to undertake a scheme for a workhouse, and the following minute is recorded :

John Bellers proposed to this meeting of setting up a Public Workhouse for poor Friends its generally agreed to be a very good thing and its left in consideration till next meeting, and in the meantime its desired that Robert Neale, Tho Sturge, Abram Lloyd, Robt White, Nath Roberts, John Bellers, Saml Simons, Robert Langny, John Curtis and Wm Worme should go to see Bristol Workhouse and give a report to next meeting, how they approve of it.

At the next meeting, held at Sudbury 20th of Sixth Month, 1701, report is made that the £100 is received from Giles Fettiplace, and that five Friends have taken it at 5 per cent., and John Bellers is appointed one of the trustees for the same. John Bellers' proposals for a workhouse were again considered, and

It is agreed to leave it in consideration till next meeting, and that John Bellers be desired to be there, and that in the meantime he might draw up some proposals if he think fit. Nathaniel Roberts to acquaint him of it.

We can find no other mention on the Gloucestershire minutes of John Bellers, or of any further steps to promote his idea of a workhouse after this date, so apparently the scheme was not proceeded with.

³ The extracts printed from the Gloucester minutes have not been checked with the originals [Eds.].

There are evidences of varied service in the minutes of the Meeting for Twelve, or, as it was for some time called, "the Meeting that keeps the poors stock." From these, under date 15th of First Month, 1679/80, we learn that John Bellers was a Trustee of the Park Meeting House, Southwark, he being described as a Merchant in London. And from the Second Day's Morning Meeting minute of 30th of Ninth Month, 1696, we find that John Bellers and others are appointed to read Friends' books: they are instructed "to Collect such places as they find proper to clear ffrids from the Callumnies that are cast upon them with respect to y^e severall Doctrines hereafter mentioned," of which a long list is given. The Committee met on the 3rd of Tenth Month, 1696, and sketched out the plan of their work, John Bellers having the books by William Bayly to read.

John Bellers, like so many of the early Friends, was the subject of persecution. He was arrested at Gracechurch Street on the 7th of Seventh Month, 1684, was taken to the Exchange and kept there from ten o'clock in the morning until five in the evening, when with others he was brought before the Mayor, and was bailed out by relatives or acquaintances. At the next Sessions he was fined four nobles, the fine being paid by some acquaintances in Court. He was again arrested on the 16th of November, 1684, and again fined four nobles, which is again paid by someone in Court. On the 11th of February, 1685, Bellers, along with nine others, was taken from Devonshire House Meeting, and at the Sessions following they were indicted for a riot and fined thirteen shillings and fourpence each.

John Bellers, as a Fellow of the Royal Society, came into contact with the famous physician Sir Hans Sloane, and the following letter*—here published for the first time—shows the closeness of the friendship, and also reveals somewhat the character of the writer :

Cowne Allins, 5th of Eighth Month, 1724.

I am heartily sorry for thy loss of thy lady which I found by the loss of mine, with a love seven years ago, is not small, but if we can draw nearer to God, and find the greater acquaintance with him as we lose

* Sloane MSS. 4047 fol. 208 (British Museum).

our friends and relations we shall make a happy exchange, for if they dont go from us we must go from them, because we must part as sure as we are born. The Lord make up thy loss with his love and peace in thy soul.

John Bellers then consults Sir Hans regarding some disorder from which he was suffering, concluding with

I will pay thee a fee when [I] see thee. Please to direct for me at Colone Allins by the Northleach Bay in Gloucester. I expect this will be with thee next 4th day Wensday, and if thee please to favour me with on[e] the next post, it will be with me next 7th day Saturday Morning. Wishing thee health, with kind respects,

I rest thy sincere and obleiged friend,

JOHN BELLERS.

My man and chambermaid were married here this morning.

Persuant to my treating the poor prisoners with baked beef I yesterday treated 58 of my poorer neighbours with the same fare, much [to] their satisfaction and but about 3^d head cost.

CHARLES R. SIMPSON.

To be continued.

Deputation to Queen Victoria on Her Accession¹

My Dear Girls,²

I suppose you rec^d the newspaper I sent, I thought by the rec^t of that you would find I had arrived safe in town, which I did after a pleasant sail, with the exception of some showers, & in sending it I thought also you would like to see the account of the Queens proroguing parliament, & also the Petition of Frds in Ireland.

I may now inform you that on my arrival I went to W^m Manley's & found the address was to be presented on 6th day (this day) but that Lord John Russell objected

¹ Description given by William Doubleday in a letter to his daughters. Original in the possession of his grandson, Edward Doubleday of Coggeshall, whose sister, Edith M. Doubleday, has kindly supplied the notes.

For further particulars *re* Deputation, see *Souvenir of The Address to King Edward VII.*, 1901, by J. J. Green, p. 59.

² William Doubleday had three daughters: Mary, 1806-1824, Elizabeth, b. 1812, Anna, b. 1818. Thus the letter was addressed to Elizabeth and Anna.

to more than 12 frds, but frds not being satisfyd, W. Allen, Josiah Foster & G. Stracy [Stacey] were appointed to insist on our privilege, which on explanation was acceded too, & frds met at Westminster Meeting this morning at $\frac{1}{2}$ ps 12 & arranged for proceeding to James's Palace, where we arrived about 2 O'clock the time being fixed for $\frac{1}{4}$ past. We were usher'd thro' several apartments, in the avenues were station'd a kind of Military dress'd in ancient style of Henrys days, very richly embroidered. We then had our hats taken off, & we pass'd into Queen Anne's room, which was a very handsom room. Here we waited for some time, some of the superior officers being very familiar in conversation with frds. During the time we were there, a deputation of about 12 of the Scotch Church, in their Canonicals came & it was their turn first. So we waited their return, & then went thro' King George the 3rds room, into the room where the Young Queen was seatd on the Throne; on each side of the room there were 12 Officers with their halberts, at the back of the Throne stood two little boys (pages) in Uniform, on her right, 2 females, I think the Duches of Sunderland, and Marchines & below Lord J. Russell & others.—on her right (we thought) the Duke of Sussex, & several others of the Ministers of State.

We were about 50 in number & W^m Allen read the address to which she appeared very attentive. When he had done, he handed it to L. J. Russell, who handed it to the Queen, with the answer, which she open'd & read very audibly, & it was I think a very satisfactory reply. We then retired, walking backwards for many yards, it being a long room. The Queen was dress'd in Black, with a broad blue ribband with the order across her, her hair neatly parted with a neat Blk row of (I suppose) diamonds or beads, as diamonds are not black I think, & a plume of Black feathers on her head, as had a[ll] the other females. I caught the Queens eye once or twice, but she appeared to sit with much dignity, yet a deal of simplicity. It was a truly gratifying sight.

Well, my dear Girls, almost a week has past, & I begin to be anxious to hear how you get on, shall quite expect to have one on 1st day morning. I hope to get home tomorrow to dinner. I had a letter this morning

from home, all well. I went down to Epping, they recd 2 letters from Edward³ whilst I was there, one dated 12 of 6th Mo, the other the 23rd. He quite enjoyed himself at Trenton Falls. I think we cannot at present fix any thing about your return. So excuse more as I wish to send this. All bustle here, the Elections commence tomorrow.

No more to night than my dear Love from thy affectionate father
W. D.⁴

6th day Evng near post time—I was at Gracechurch st meeting on 4th day. John Barclay address'd us in a sweet manner.

I was inform'd to day that a few days since, the Queen was in conference with Lord Melbourn when the Duke of Sussex enter'd the room, the conversation was suspended & she spoke to her uncle, but soon after told him he would find her mother in the next room; he took the hint; this shews her judgment that her conferences with her Ministers are not to be interrupted.

[addressed]

Elizth Doubleday

at Sandwells

no 9 Paradise Street

Margate

Kent

A

JY 21

1837

³ Edward Doubleday, son of Benjamin Doubleday, of Epping, was nephew to the writer of the letter. He was a naturalist and curator at the British Museum, and was sent out to South America by the authorities to look for orchids. He was the first to take up that special line of research. By a curious coincidence there was at the same time another Curator at the Museum named *Edward Doubleday*. He mended the Portland Vase which was broken by a madman. The two were not related. Henry, another son of Benjamin Doubleday, specialized on British moths and butterflies. His collections of Lepidoptera have, "in accordance with his wish, been deposited on loan in the Bethnal Green Branch of the South Kensington Museum, by his Executors, Messrs. J. H. Tuke, G. S. Gibson and J. G. Barclay." (See *Catalogue of the Collection*, copy in D.)

⁴ William Doubleday (d. 1854, aet. 76), of Coggeshall, Essex, son of Joseph Doubleday of Epping, grocer, married Hannah Corder in 1804, by whom he had eight children.

The Barnes Family of Cumberland

IN the issue of *The Friend* for the 27th July, 1900, there appeared an article from the present writer's pen, entitled "Hannah Barnes and the Duke of Cumberland," in which it is stated that "Thomas Keith Barnes, sometime Editor and co-proprietor of *The Times* newspaper, was the son of John Barnes," of Burgh-by-Sands. In the interest of truth and as a warning not to base family history on tradition unconfirmed by investigation, the following correction is made.

For some eighty years there has been a family tradition that Barnes, the editor of *The Times*, was the son of John Barnes of Burgh-by-Sands. A search in Monthly Meeting books at Devonshire House disclosed a discrepancy between the dates of certain entries respecting John Barnes and known facts respecting the editor. An enquiry at Printing House Square did not clear the matter up, but information was obtained from the Clerk of Christ's Hospital (the Blue Coat School) to the effect that Thomas Barnes, the editor, born 10 ix. 1785, was the son of John Barnes, Attorney, Citizen and Clothworker, who married Mary Anderson at the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, 4 viii. 1784. From the Clothworkers' Company information was received that a John Barnes was admitted to the Freedom of the Company by Patrimony on 8 xi. 1775, being described as an Attorney of Tooley Street, son of Henry, who, thirty-nine years before, had been admitted to the Freedom after serving an apprenticeship of seven years. Henry was son of John, a weaver, and was apprenticed in 1728 to John Andrews, a Calender.

The editor of *The Times* being satisfactorily disposed of, enquiry elsewhere elicited the following. John Barnes of Burgh, who left Friends after coming to London, married Janet Jopp. He was reticent about his early life and only once revisited his Cumberland home. He appears to have become a financier, and, in recognition of a loan raised by him in "hard times," was presented

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by some of his friends with a silver vase. He retired to Christchurch, Hants, died in 1815, and a monument by Chantrey was erected to his memory in the Priory Church.

His eldest son, John, followed the father on the Stock Exchange; another son, Keith, who with his brothers was educated at the Charter House School, became a solicitor. A son of Keith Barnes, also named Keith, became a clergyman and was rector of the beautiful parish church of Cattistock in Dorsetshire from 1863 to 1875. The main building of the church had been restored by his predecessor, and he continued the work by rebuilding the tower with Sir Gilbert Scott as his architect, and determined to place in it a Belgian carillon. The first bells cast by Severin van Aerschodt of Louvain, thirty-three in number, after examination by and approval of Rev. H. R. Haweis, author of *Music and Morals*, were brought to England in 1882. Two more, cast by Felix van Aerschodt, son of Severin, were added in 1899, when there was a dedication of the carillon by Bishop Wordsworth,¹ Lord Bishop of the Diocese. Rev. Keith Barnes kept in touch with some of his Quaker connections throughout his life, by correspondence at least. It is curious that his correspondents, never doubting that he was the son of *The Times* editor, cannot have raised the question which he could have settled in a moment, and so the legend continued until blown to pieces by the writer's enquiries. The not improbable suggestion has been made as to its origin, that at the time Thomas Barnes was exciting public interest as editor of *The Times*, Keith Barnes the elder sent occasional copies of *The Times* to his Cumberland relatives, and in this way innocently gave rise to it. After the decease of William Rickerby of Burgh, the cottage built by William and Mary Barnes in 1717, with adjacent land, so long in the occupation of Friends, passed to the Barnes family again, though the cottage was still occupied by a Quaker relative until the beginning of the twentieth century.

ISAAC SHARP.

¹ Connected through his grandmother, Priscilla Wordsworth, *née* Lloyd, with Lloyds, Braithwaites and other Quaker families.

"Quaker Women"¹

THE books written about Quakers by non-members of the Society are few in number and by no means always a success. Instances can be recalled when the author has proved peculiarly unfitted for the task, because of a total lack of understanding of the Quaker inspiration. But, given the insight and critical judgment needful for a biographer, together with impartial and clear comprehension, it is easy to see that the application of an unbiassed mind may bring out sometimes unsuspected aspects of history.

The present volume about Quaker Women is a case in point. There is a remarkable freshness in the view of this writer, Mabel Richmond Brailsford, who is quite unconnected with the Society of Friends, either by descent or education. And withal there is no lack of such knowledge, as even an inherited Friend might envy, of the inner springs of thought, and the resultant action of the early apostles of the new sect. For it is from the early history of the Society, in the eventful last half of the seventeenth century, that nearly all her examples of Quaker women are drawn. The reiterated facts and familiar details of the period seem to attain an extraordinary vivacity in the light of Miss Brailsford's penetration and acumen. She is a psychologist of ability, as well as a writer of crisp and sprightly English. Her style of narrative certainly owes nothing to the nature of her subject, although it is by no means unsuited thereto. She has a happy knack of seizing on words or phrases spoken by, or written about, the persons in the story, which sometimes reveal rudimental traits. Several of these picturesque expressions also convey a very seasonable humour. It was perhaps unavoidable that owing to the scheme of the survey to be made, there should be a certain lack of cohesion in the construction

¹ *Quaker Women, 1650-1690.* By Mabel Richmond Brailsford. London: Duckworth & Co., 1915, pp. xii., 340. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

of her book. In approaching different events of the times, and in viewing their reflex action upon so many diverse characters, some of the ground has necessarily to be gone over again; it offers, however, the opportunity for some new phase to receive attention, and bare repetition is generally avoided. The excellent background of contemporary history is invariably there, often with interesting sidelights upon an outside view of the Quakers as shown occasionally in the literature of the day. The figures are never detached from the background and set apart and alone, as in so many of our Quaker classics. (To this Fox's *Journal* is a very notable exception; he is always in close touch with his environment.) These Quaker Women remain moving and being among the human forces of their neighbours, as much a part of daily history as the knightly figures riding across a tapestry landscape.

It was no doubt the public service undertaken by the early Quaker women with the same intrepidity as, if not more than, their brethren, that attracted Miss Brailsford to her subject. The question of how far the women Friends of the present have evolved as the result of this heritage is a highly interesting one that cannot be entered upon here. The author's acquaintance with the aspirations towards a wider share of service and citizenship on the part of women to-day has influenced to a certain extent her reading. Her book was, we believe, completed early last year, when these things bore a different proportion. She would be the first to acknowledge how associations formed for one purpose have now one and all devoted their energies to the common cause of humanity, and should prove a very valuable asset in the forces growing towards a future peace.

Many old familiar friends are met again in the circle to which, as intimates, the author re-admits us. Elizabeth Hooton and Margaret Fell once more compel our wondering admiration. We suspect Miss Brailsford of a peculiar partiality for Mary Fisher, "a servant girl apostle to the Colleges," and "a maiden ambassador to the Grand Turk." And indeed the whole story of her life, preaching and travels is a romance, ending in a proper way in a marriage for love to that

mystical mariner, William Bayly, whose vision, while a prisoner in the foul and wicked purlieus of Newgate, was of "a woman with the face of an Angel" between him and a man with a great axe who was about to cut him in pieces. This was Mary Fisher, whose daily visits to the prison were appointed, as Ellwood tells us, by the Meeting at Devonshire House, two women to each prison. But beside these and other notable women of achievements known and recorded, the author has unearthed for us and presented portraits in miniature of lesser known women. Barbara Blaugdon, the "middle aged and highly respectable governess," who had been the intimate of titled and noble families, who interviewed Henry Cromwell, was whipped at Exeter, crossed several times to Ireland and preached to rich and poor, is known already through her autobiography; but what of Elizabeth Fletcher, the girl of sixteen who preached in Oxford, and with Elizabeth Smith was the pioneer Quaker in Ireland. Ann Downer and Rebecca Travers, responsible for the first "Women's Meeting" in London, are known a little; they and Loveday Hambly, Sarah Blackbury, Ann Clayton, become real persons through these pages. The travels of Katherine Evans and Sarah Chevers in the British Isles and to Malta where they were imprisoned, are told afresh. The chapter on "The First Quaker Women in Holland" contains some valuable original information, and in "A Stuart among the Quakers" the romantic story of Jane Stuart, a natural daughter of James II., is told at length.

The chapter entitled "Husband and Wife" is not the least fresh and interesting in the volume. Fox's ideas upon celibacy and "right marriage" are clearly stated, and the extraordinary precautions taken by him in laying down the obligations connected with the actual union. The austere view taken by some of the early Friends, even so fine a woman as Margaret Fell, on the natural relationships of life, is exemplified in the interesting case of Thomas and Elizabeth Holme. Both were preachers, and the public duty of each was constantly enforced upon them by their elders. All human ties were to be in abeyance when the work of the pioneers

was in question. So it is we find Edward Burrough writing about the death of his parents in 1658 in a northern dale in Westmorland. He, a mere youth, was in London and did not suffer his hand to falter a moment at the news. He writes coldly:

Ye old man & old woman, my father & mother according to ye flesh is both departed this world ten dayes one after ye other, & I am sent for downe, but trully I Cannot goe, it is only ptaining to Outwards, & I feele noe freedome to it at present.

Enough has been said to show that we have here a valuable contribution to a branch of Quaker history that has been little explored as a whole. Miss Brailsford has given us a study of womanhood that cannot be without an influence on all who, reading it, recognise that unity of man and woman in a common work and heritage which is the hope and destiny of the race.

It must be added that the index is totally inadequate. The value of such a book as this would be greatly enhanced to all present and future students by a proper and scholarly one. Perhaps the author will see fit to remedy this fault when the volume, as no doubt it will, proceeds to a second edition.

CHARLOTTE FELL SMITH.

Yearly Meeting Representatives

THOUGH some of the names of attenders at the early "General" and Yearly Meetings are known, the names of representatives were not kept in any list for some years. The Epistle from Friends out of the Northern Counties, as far back as 1658, has many signatures; the "written Epistle from the Yearly Meeting, 1668," contains the signatures of George Fox and others; that of 1675 has six signatures, and that for 1676 the signatures of William Penn, George Whitehead and thirteen others. But we have, as far as is known, no list of representatives until 1681. The number of the representatives is stated in the record of the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of 1672 "to consist of six Friends for the city of London, three for the

city of Bristol, two for the town of Colchester, and one or two for each and every of the counties of England and Wales respectively"; these Friends being "such as understand the sufferings and affairs of their respective counties."

A few examples may be given of the changes that have taken place during the last 250 years. In the earliest *recorded* list of representatives to the Yearly Meeting, two were sent from Durham and Northumberland. The two counties had scattered congregations from Stockton to Berwick-on-Tweed, but the numbers in the more northerly county dwindled, and gradually the Quarterly Meeting was known as that of Durham, though at Newcastle there has been an influential Meeting of Friends for more than two centuries; and that and the North Shields Meeting (also on the northern side of the Tyne) have been for Quaker purposes in "Durham" Quarterly Meeting. The two representatives of Durham and Northumberland to the 1681 Yearly Meeting were Edward Tunstall and Richard Pinder, and the former was a representative for at least three later Yearly Meetings. Other early representatives of the Northern Meeting included the locally well-known names of Eman Grice, Robert Truman, Robert Wardel, and John Bowron—two for the Quarterly Meeting in each year.

But times and numbers have changed in Durham district in two centuries. To the Yearly Meeting 1915, there were twenty-four representatives sent from Durham Quarterly Meeting, but that Meeting includes now constituent Meetings in Northumberland, Durham, and North Yorkshire. Other changes are seen in the list of representatives; in the early days, only men were sent to the Yearly Meeting; in 1915 the Durham list has twelve men and twelve women Friends. In the early period "publick Friends" (ministers chiefly) were usually sent, but the list for Durham this year has one-sixth recorded ministers only. In the early days of the Society, Durham was represented by two Members of Parliament, but each Reform Bill has added to the number, and nine or ten members of the Society of Friends in Durham Quarterly Meeting have, since the year 1832, been members of Parliament.

JOHN W. STEEL.

Stranger Friends Visiting Scotland, 1650:1797

Continued from page 83

1669

JOHN ABRAHAM of Manchester,¹ JOHN COX of York and JAMES HALLIDAY of Allartowne were present at the first recorded General Meeting of the Society in the South of Scotland, held at Edinburgh in the Fourth Month of this year, when a list of men Friends having been drawn up and various Monthly and Quarterly Meetings instituted, it was further "generally agreed wpon . . . that the two generall meetings the one of the north the other of the sowth meet at one generall meeting the first forth day of the 4th mon: 1670: at Edin^r." ² When the case of a Friend at Lessudwine came before the meeting, who had "twrned aside from the trwth & Loved this present world, the Love of God & the power of his Life stired in the hearts of freinds towards him generalie at present fowr freinds viz. James Halliday, John Cox, patrick Livingstone & George Keith [all Friends not belonging to Edin^r Q.M.] offered to goe visit him and w^t the consent of the meeting are to goe & retwrn ane answer to the nixt Monthly Meeting." ² Later in the year James Halliday travelled extensively in the North of Scotland and the Orkney Isles.³

1670

JOHN COX and JAMES HALLIDAY both took part in the proceedings of Edinburgh Quarterly Meeting for Fourth and Sixth Months of this year.²

1671

SAMUEL CATER of the Isle of Ely visited Scotland in the autumn,⁴ and in the Eleventh Month he seems to have been a prisoner at Montrose "for the Testimony of Truth."⁵ The name of LEONARD FELL of Lancashire occurs as witness to a Friends' marriage at Drumbwy in Ninth Month.²

1672

JOHN COX, ESTHER BIDDLE, MARGARET FALSIT were all present at the Monthly Meeting at Aberdeen in Sixth Month, "in our new meeting house"; and a fortnight later, JOHN HAYDOCK and JAMES SYKES, two Lancashire Friends, were present when the meeting for worship continued from ten in the forenoon to nearly five in the afternoon, after which, the record adds, there was "no meeting abt affairs."³

1673

JOHN TYSO of London, and THOMAS ATKINSON "in the Duchy of Gloucester" [sic] were at Aberdeen Mid-Monthly Meeting in the Sixth Month, and, two months later, JOHN COX and RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE.³

1674

JAMES HALLIDAY attended the Yearly Meeting at Edinburgh; THOMAS DOCKRAY of Cumberland was at the Quarterly Meeting there in Sixth Month,² and afterwards was imprisoned in Aberdeen for thirteen weeks.⁶ (He visited Scotland five times in the course of his life.) SOLOMON ECCLES of London,^{2, 3} THOMAS FERN (probably Fearon) preached and warned "opposers of truth" in Aberdeen.⁶

1675

WILLIAM SEIGSWIECK and THOMAS ATKINS, two Friends "living near Yorok" were at Aberdeen.³

1677

JOHN WATSON was a prisoner at Aberdeen in the autumn.⁶

1678

CHRISTOPHER STORY of Cumberland and EDMUND WINN of Yorkshire visited Scotland together in Second Month. "The first meeting we had in that nation was at Allassudin [Lessudwyn near Kelso], where Walter Scott lived, that had been early convinced, and suffered for truth; and being a man of an estate, the meeting was kept in his house. But when we came, he refused to have the meeting in his own house, or to go to it where it was in another friend's house in the town, alledging, that

meetings were but a form, and every man might worship God as well in his own house as in a meeting ; and so withdrew himself. Both he, and several of his children that were once hopeful, forsook Truth and Friends, and the meeting was lost afterwards.”⁷

JAMES HALLIDAY attended Edinburgh Yearly Meeting and was one of four Friends who were willing to go to the next Monthly Meeting at Bimerside for the purpose of endeavouring to heal the breach among Friends at Lessudwyn.² ISABEL FELL of Swarthmoor was reported to be “on her way to Scotland” in Fifth Month.¹

1679

PETER FEARON and GEORGE ROOKE, both of Cumberland.¹⁴ These were probably the two worthy Friends who, it is recorded, traversed Scotland this year on foot “by the advice of that eminent elder George Fox,” because the Covenanters being then in open rebellion, the travellers would in all probability have been deprived of their horses : “And so following their master’s business in the innocency of the Truth, they were preserved and visited the meetings of Friends without much interruption or disturbance and had comfortable opportunities with them who were glad of their visit, having suffered greatly by the armies.”⁸

1680

ELIZABETH HUNTINGDON of Cumberland, and FRANCES LIDDLE were together visiting Friends in Scotland for three months early in the year. The former died shortly after her return home, “aged little more than 22.”⁹ CHRISTOPHER STORY.⁷

1681

JOHN BURNYEAT and PETER FERN (probably Fearon),³ GEORGE ROOKE.⁶ ROBERT WARDELL of Sunderland was at Edinburgh in the Ninth Month.²

1682

JAMES HALLIDAY,^{2, 3} ROBERT WARDELL.³

1683

JAMES DICKINSON and a young man belonging to a Meeting on the Scottish border journeyed on foot through-

out Scotland. They proceeded as far as Aberdeen, where they met with GEORGE ROOKE and ANDREW TAYLOR of Cumberland. Whilst they were at Aberdeen, they had a meeting on board a ship containing Friends bound for New Jersey.¹⁰

1684

JOHN BURNYEAT and JOHN TIFFIN of Cumberland visited Scotland together.¹⁰

1685

PETER FEARON and JOHN TAYLOR of Cumberland,³ the latter is said to have "travelled three or four times" in Scotland.

1687

JAMES FLETCHER of Lancashire visited Friends throughout Scotland.¹¹

1688

RICHARD ASHBY of London,³ ELIZABETH DICKINSON of Cumberland,⁹ WILLIAM FELL.³

1690

JOHN BAIN, a young man who died at Ury in the autumn whilst visiting Friends there. PETER FERN,³ JAMES DICKINSON, "and another Friend." "It was a time when there were great troubles in the nation, but the Lord preserved us in every way."¹⁰

1691

CHRISTOPHER STORY and THOMAS BLAIR were at Glasgow in Fourth Month, where they were barbarously abused; proceeding to the house of Hew Wood, a worthy ministering Friend at Hamilton, gardener to the Duke there, they penned an account of their sufferings, entitled *A Looking-glass for the inhabitants of the town of Glasgow.*⁷ JAMES HALLIDAY and ROBERT WARDELL were at a meeting in Glasgow in Ninth Month, whence they, with other Friends, were haled to prison, and in the evening the two English Friends were driven "out of the town although it was dark night."² ROBERT BARROW and JOHN THOMPSON of Westmorland; the former was at Kingswells, near Aberdeen, in Eleventh Month, whence he wrote a letter telling of the sufferings of Friends at

Glasgow.¹² TIMOTHY TOUNSON and WILLIAM FELL both of Lancashire.³

1692

JOHN BOWSTEAD of Cumberland,¹³ LEONARD FELL and his companion TIMOTHY HARRISON,^{2,3} GEORGE ROOKE,¹⁴ ROBERT WARDELL,² THOMAS RUDD of Yorkshire, "who had a testimony through the streets and towns in Britain—was put in prison in Edr (by on bailzie Chartres through the instigation of the priests) . . . but was let out the next day."² THOMAS STORY of Cumberland, who also travelled extensively in Scotland this year, gives some interesting particulars of Thomas Rudd's proceedings. It appears that the good man "had been several Times through the City and Colleges of Edinburgh, crying *Wo to the Sandy Foundation* with some other Words of the like Import." Then as the Friends were about to leave Edinburgh after attending the Quarterly Meeting there, "the Concern returned upon Thomas Rudd to go again thro' the City; and, after great Exercise and Travel in Spirit, he became willing, and went: And the most of his Message was in these Words, *Ho! all People; O All be warned this Day, to fear before the Lord, the mighty God of Heaven and Earth; and every one turn from the Evil of your Ways.* He had a Voice suited to the Measure of his Words, with an innocent Boldness in his Countenance, frequently lifting his Right-hand towards Heaven as he passed along, which was with a slow and grave Pace." After his commital to the Tolbooth, Thomas Story and other Friends visited him there, supped with him and had a religious opportunity in "an Apartment made of Deal, called the *Quakers High-Room*, made by Friends in Time of greater Persecution for their own Convenience." From Edinburgh, Thomas Rudd, Thomas Story and John Bowstead proceeded to the North of Scotland as far as Inverness, the two latter Friends sharing more or less in Thomas Rudd's "Concern."¹³ THOMAS WILSON, in company with JAMES DICKINSON, both of Cumberland, on their return from a visit to America, landed in the Highlands of Scotland and thence travelled home by land.¹⁰ JEAN HALL,³ BENJAMINE BROWN, "a deep man of experiences."^{2,3}

1693

THOMAS STORY, JOHN BOWSTEAD and THOMAS RUDD having returned to Ury early in First Month, parted company, T. R. revisiting Aberdeen, whilst the two other Friends proceeded to Leith and Edinburgh, and afterwards travelled through the West of Scotland, where they were rejoined by Thomas Rudd and had many stirring adventures.¹³ JOHN CARLISLE of Carlisle was at a meeting in Glasgow in Fifth Month, "and as he was att prayer there Came some young men who stoped his mouth and put a hat upon his head & last of all Caryed him by y^e arms down stairs unto y^e Close still praying as they Caried him and then they let him go & we satt down again."² GEORGE HALL and JAMES HALLIDAY were in Glasgow in Fifth Month, when, as the "Record of Sufferings" tells us, "We few in this place and some country friends wt James haliday and Georg Hall from England [there were seventeen Friends in all, four of them women] being mett together two men Caled Elders with severall toun officers came upon us who said they had orders from the magistrats to drag & draw us out to the streets q^h they did very violently & qⁿ they had brought us to y^e streett they seemed to leav us to y^e will of y^e rable but we said if y^e magistrats have sett you upon us yⁿ take us to y^m & not leave us to be abused by y^e rable yⁿ on of y^e Elders went befor us unto y^e provest and shewed him y^t he had been skealing [*i.e.* breaking up] y^e Qwakers meeting . . . & when he saw us Coming near him he sought to go away but on of us said is this to protect us, to send & drag us out and leave us to the hands of a Cruel rable, yⁿ he commanded y^e oficers to put us in prison y^e q^h they did in a naisty backe room . . . [where] there was not [any] seat . . . but y^e neasty floor."² REUBEN SATTERTHWAITE,⁹ GEORGE KNIPE and JAMES WYLDMAN, "three worthy young men in the service of the Gospel."³

1694

JONATHAN TYLER, MARY ROBINSON and MARGARET STORDIE.³ "A very worthy English woman Friend [HELEN STOCKDAILL] who had a singular presence of the Lord attending her."³ "A very honest ancient friend

from Cork" JASPER TREGOES,³ THOMAS WILSON and WILLIAM GREENUP.¹⁰

"Dear JOHN GRATTON (an ancient and worthy friend) with his honest companion THOMAS ALDAM "were at Aberdeen Quarterly Meeting in Sixth Month"³: whilst ROBERT HILL, "an English Friend," had been there the previous month, and visited Edinburgh afterwards.³ PETER GARDNER "of Suffolk, a weighty man of a discerning spirit," had many remarkable meetings amongst Friends in the North of Scotland. He was taken ill of small-pox on his way home and "laid down the body" at Carlisle early in the following year. WILLIAM HYND and HENRY PAYTON of Worcestershire were at Aberdeen in Fourth Month; and JAMES LEECH of Berwick in the Eleventh Month.³ THOMAS WILSON and WILLIAM GREENUP.¹⁰

1695

"Dear Ancient LEONARD FELL . . . once again come to visit and Incourage [Friends] in the Ancient Spring of Life" with NICHOLAS JACKSON as companion. "Also two honest young men of Cumberland," named THOMAS WILKINSON and WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, the latter "a Scotsman born and of Scots parents."³ JASPER TREGOES.¹⁵

1696

REUBEN SATTERTHWAITE of Lancashire and GEORGE KNIPE of Lancashire travelled in Scotland together.⁹ ANTHONY SHARP of Dublin visited Scotland, probably during this year.¹⁴

THOMAS STORY accompanied by HENRY ATKINSON, "a very tender and hopeful young Man, but had not appeared in a publick Ministry; though Truth was working in him towards it."¹³

1697

JEAN AINSLEY and JEAN ROBINSON from Yorkshire,³ ELIHU JOHNSON and his companion JOHN BARTINSLE from Lancashire,³ AARON ATKINSON and WILLIAM ARMSTRONG from Cumberland.³ "Our dear friend DANIEL MONRO and his dear wife" [MARGARET] from London were the bearers of "an offering of love" from

the "London Correspondents" and another Scottish Friend for poor Friends in the North, there being "deep sufferings of many in Scotland by reason of a great scarcity of corn."³

1698

The following Friends, most of whom were "publick," were at Aberdeen in the course of the year: "MARY GREENHOW (maiden name Robinson) and her companion JANET LATIMER from Cumberland: dear JOHN CARLYLE YOR & JOHN TAYLOR, both publick: ELIZABETH WHITBY & ANN ORD from Yorksh. both publick: dear GERSHON BOOT [Boat] & JOSHUA NORTHOLT from Ireland both publick: WILLIAM HORNOWLL of London and SAMUELL HUNT of Nottingham both publick: two sweet young lads on foot two brothers both publick friends called JONATHAN and THOS. HARRISONS; the 1st a Cumberl^d & the 2^d Northumberland^d Fr^d: two honest frinds from Cumber^d, Ancient DAVID PALMER & young JONATHAN OSTELL: two Yorsh. young men TIMOTHY TOWS and JOHN NESS; two worthy precious frinds from Cumberland GEORG BEWLY of Hyvegill & WILLIAM GREENOCK [Greenup]; 2 Fr^{ds} from Yorkshire JOHN RICHARDSON & his comp. SAMUELL PINDAR: honest CHRISTOPHER STORY of Cumb^d & his wife [BRIDGET]"³ This year probably SAMUEL BOWNAS of Westmorland and ISAAC ALEXANDER visited Scotland. "We set forward on foot," says Samuel Bownas, "visiting part of Cumb^d in our way, and I thought Isaac had very fine service, so much superior to mine that after him I was afraid to lessen or hurt what good he had done, & before him I was afraid to stand in his way."¹⁶

JOHN FOTHERGILL paid a general visit to Friends in Scotland ". . . And tho' we met with abusive Treatment in several Places, especially at Glasgow and Edinburgh, by the mobbish part of the People disturbing Friends Meetings, by casting Stones or any other matter at hand amongst them, which was a very frequent practice and continued many Years, yet we were preserved from any material Hurt."¹⁷

1699

SAMUEL WATSON of Yorkshire travelled in Scotland with his daughter MERCY and "an innocent Friend"

named JANET STOW.⁶ JAMES DICKINSON, accompanied by JONATHAN BURNYEAT, a lad of little more than twelve years of age, of whom James Dickinson remarks, "As he was very young and had not travelled in Truth's service before, a concern fell upon me for his preservation every way. The Lord was kind to us and bore up our spirits in all our exercises." They were at the Yearly Meeting at Edinburgh and suffered much from the violence of the mob. "A concern came upon Jonathan Burnyeat to write a warning to the inhabitants of that place which was afterwards put in print."¹⁰ HENRY MOLLINEUX and DANIEL RIGBY from Lancashire and JOSEPH PENINGTON of Cumberland "on a visit of Love."³ MARY MITCHELL of Sussex and SARAH RAYN of Yorkshire; the former fell sick of the small-pox at Aberdeen and died.³

WILLIAM F. MILLER.

To be continued.

¹ Maria Webb's *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, 1865.

² MS. Records of Edinburgh Yearly Meeting.

³ MS. Records of Aberdeen Yearly Meeting.

⁴ *Account of Stephen Crisp*, 1694, p. 38.

⁵ Joseph Smith's *Catalogue*.

⁶ *Jaffray's Diary*.

⁷ *Life of Christopher Story*, 1820.

⁸ *A Collection of Testimonies*, 1760.

⁹ *Piety Promoted*.

¹⁰ *Journals of Thomas Wilson and James Dickinson*, 1847.

¹¹ *The First Publishers of Truth*, pp. 148-151.

¹² *Collectitia*, pp. 365-366.

¹³ *Journal of Thomas Story*, 1747.

¹⁴ *Rutty's History*, 1751.

¹⁵ *Journal of the F.H.S.*, x. 163.

¹⁶ *Life of Samuel Bownas*.

¹⁷ *Life of John Fothergill*, 1753.

the 24 of $\frac{2}{m}$ 1678.

John Ellson, Cotton Gadd, Thomas Ma[t]hewes and W^m Parker ar desired to aqwaynt the frynds of the bull & mouth meeting that Seuerall Poor resorts to this qwarter whom they cannot in Conciencie suffer to want that they desyre that they would see consider off it as to lend a helping hand in this & such lyke cayses.—Minutes of Peel M.M. (in D.).

Margaret Fox to her Grandchildren Bethiah and David English, 1699¹

Swarthmore ye 17th of 9th mo 99

Dear Grand son and Grand Daughter English²

Jn the deare and tender love and bowels of deuine life
J doe dearley remember you and write these few lines
vnto you as a testimony therof; desireing you to keepe
Close to the Lords powe loue and life and theire you will
grow and Abide neare the lord and he will bide neare to
you as you abide Jnwardly to him; dear Bethia keepe
vp to the Lord be Content with his will what euer it be
for y^t is the best and the safest for thee; waite vpon him in
obediunce and y^t is the way for the Lord to giue thee thy
harts desire; it is longe sin[c]e J wrote to thee or heard
from thee but J doe not forget thee thou art often before
me; J heard by two ffriends y^t thou was at the Wells
in Yorkeshire and was pretty well which J was glad of
J haue not heard from thy Mother³ but once since shee
Came ffrom ye Bath: but J hope shee is well; J haue
had two Letters ffrom thy sister Dicke⁴ and one ffrom
hir Husband; the[y] are verry well and Liues very well
and Comfortably; if thou would but write to thy Mother
how it is with thee euery way; and shee would Lett
me know J cann doe noe more but pray to almighty god
for you all and J trust and hope ye Lord his blessinge and
grace may rest vpon you haueing this opertunity by this
ffriend J was willinge to write to you these few lines to
let you know y^t the Lord has presaued me in health euer
since J came from London; J have writen to my
Daughter Morris⁵ and J desire thee to gett it to hir for J

¹ Original in the possession of Mrs. Wilfrid Rogers, of Falmouth, by whom a photograph of the same has been presented to D.

² Bethiah Rous, born 1666, was the daughter of John and Margaret (Fell) Rous. She married David English of Pontefract in 1692, and they had three children—Nathaniel, Thomas and Benjamin.

³ Margaret Rous, *née* Fell (c. 1633-1706), the eldest daughter of Margaret and Judge Fell.

⁴ Anne (1671-1709), daughter of John and Margaret Rous, married Benjamin Dykes, or Dix, as his second wife.

⁵ Isabel Yeamans, *née* Fell, married Abraham Morrice in 1689, as his second wife.

haue not written to hir since J came ffrom London it is but a Chance y^t wee Cann get any thinge sent into your parts My Daughter Abraham⁶ and hir Son⁷ has there deare Loues dearly Remembred vnto you hir husband is Now at London presoner for tythe noe more but my Loue and prayers for you from your Deare Grand Mother

M: ff:

⁶ Rachel Fell (1653-1732) married Daniel Abraham in 1683.

⁷ John Abraham, 1687-1771, the only child who grew to maturity.

GEORGE VAUX, 1832-1915

AGAIN we have to record, with regret, the decease on the other side of the Atlantic of one of our stalwart supporters. George Vaux of Philadelphia and Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania passed away suddenly, yet gently, on the 20th of April, in his eighty-third year, and the funeral took place in the private family burial ground on his Bryn Mawr estate on the 23rd. For some time before his death he had been in feeble health, and in consequence of failing sight was almost entirely dependent on his secretary for assistance in his work. Notwithstanding these limitations he maintained to the last a keen interest in affairs and in his favourite pursuits, which included historical, genealogical and antiquarian research. He was the eighth of ten who have borne the name from circa 1600 to the present time, as will be seen by reference to an article from his own pen in vol. vi. of *THE JOURNAL*, 1909. Probably no one in Philadelphia was better acquainted with the records of Friends there, the condition and orderly arrangement of which will be a lasting memorial of his care and oversight. He was a man of natural ability, which he devoted to business pursuits and also to educational and philanthropic activities. He was President of the Friends Historical Society 1907-8, and has frequently assisted the Editor by contributions and correspondence upon a variety of subjects. For further particulars respecting him see *The Friend* for 21st of May, 1915.

ISAAC SHARP.

Friends in Current Literature

Bootham School Register, compiled under the direction of a Committee of the Old York Scholars' Association, 1914 (York: Delittle, Fenwick & Co., 6s. 6d. net), owes much to the support and industry of Francis C. Clayton and others. Its 291 pages of excellent clear type afford good reading for old Bootham boys. The names of present boys and of old boys still living are printed in large block type, at once distinguishable from the names of the dead. Here one may read the history of the early veterans from 1829 when the School was taken over by the Quarterly Meeting, recall memories of one's own contemporaries, their school exploits and hobbies, and learn in what ways they have distinguished themselves in after life. Amongst the honoured dead may be mentioned Jacob and John Bright; Joseph Firth Bottonley Firth; Thomas Harvey; Henry Stanley Newman; Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease, Bart.; Stanley Pumphrey; David Richardson; John Stephenson, John Wilhelm and Joshua Rowntree; Frederic and Henry Seebohm; John Foster Spence; Daniel Hack and James Hack Tuke; Robert Spence Watson; Thomas Whitwell, with many others who have done great service for the State, locally or imperially, have made their mark as scientists, or filled useful places as Ministers, Church officers or Educationists of the Society of Friends. Not less distinguished are the names of many living men whom it would, perhaps, be invidious in this short notice to single out.

On the amusing side, under Henry Binns is recorded the conspiracy of that worthy Quaker Minister, along with John Bright and George Mennell, to run away from school for America. They were all caught *flagranti delicto*—Binns on leaving the premises; Bright, who started second, on the Tadcaster Road; Mennell, who reached Leeds on foot, was found waiting for the others at the Inn from which the Liverpool coach was to start!

Amongst the excellent illustrations may be specially mentioned the grand head and face of William Tuke, the portrait of John Ford with its rugged, forceful lines, the minutes in John Ford's handwriting of the meeting that established the School Natural History Society in 1834, portraits of three other head masters, Fielden Thorp, John Firth Fryer, and Arthur Rowntree, a portrait of Miss A. B. Woodhead, and lastly the benevolent features of the Right Honourable Robert Spence Watson.

[For particulars as to the origin of the Register see various references in "*Bootham*."]

The Older Nonconformity in Kendal, by Francis Nicholson and Ernest Axon (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 8½ by 5½, pp. 677, 21s. net), does not profess to deal with Friends, "the oldest Nonconformists in the town," except incidentally; and is mainly a history of the Unitarian Chapel and the two Nonconformist Academies of Richard Frankland, M.A., and Caleb

Rotherham, D.D. The authors show that Westmorland was not favourable soil for Presbyterianism, and regard (p. 33) the introduction of Quakerism as "the remarkable episode" in the religious history of the county. They consider that other Nonconformists had no great strength in the town during the early Restoration Period, chiefly because (p. 80) the Quakers had "drawn into their Society the bulk of those who would otherwise have made the staunchest Nonconformists." The early Unitarian teaching in Kendal seems to have come (p. 34) from a Friend, Robert Colli[n]son, but it should be added that he soon found himself at variance in other ways with the Quaker leaders, and was denied by them in 1656. (See "Beginnings of Quakerism," pp. 344, 345.) There are useful references to George Walker, the Quaker surgeon who was implicated in the Kaber Rigg plot of October, 1663 (p. 90), to Gervase Benson (*passim*), and to Thomas Camm (pp. 249-256).

The Contribution of Nonconformity to Education until the Victorian Era, from the pen of Dr. W. T. Whitley, M.A. (Secretary of the Baptist Historical Society), finds a place in "The Educational Record," June, 1915. After speaking of the steady interest of Friends in education from the earliest days he says: "Specially noteworthy is their care for girls; in 1681 at Aberdeen their mistress saw not only to book-learning, but to their being taught to support themselves by the weaving of stockings."

Summing up the work of Joseph Lancaster, Dr. Whitley says: "Thus we may even say that the effective impulse towards the nation assuming the duty of educating all children was given by a Friend."

In connection with the practice of using Latin text books we read: "To adopt English meant to cut off pupils from the stream of continental life and thought . . . the question was ignored by most English teachers, but it was deliberately faced and discussed by the Society of Friends . . . A meeting of schoolmasters was called [1705] . . . After some prolonged deliberation, it was decided to disuse Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Terence, Ovid, Erasmus, Æsop's fables, Corderius, etc., which had hitherto been used by Friends for the instruction of youth in the Latin tongue."

Whilst they discarded these authors as "heathenish," and "not agreeable to truth," they were not, says Dr. Whitley, "averse to Latin as Latin," but revised Lily's grammar, and did not "eschew the ancients."

Mention is made of the educational efforts of William Penn and John Bellers, and a tribute is paid to the Society of Friends as pioneers in the work of Adult Schools now widely spread over the country.

Rawdon and its History, by James H. Palliser (Rawdon, to be obtained from the author, pp. 108, 2s. 6d. net), contains a picture and interesting

Joseph Lancaster was only in membership with Friends for some thirteen years, but Friends were amongst his warmest supporters, and after his time to a large extent carried on the British Schools of the country. When these gave place to Board Schools, many Friends exchanged British School management for work upon School Boards.

particulars regarding the Meeting House erected in 1697; "the office of caretaker has been for many years, and is still, held by the first scholar on the girls' side at Rawdon. This forms an interesting link between the Meeting and the School, which have been closely associated for more than sixty years" (p. 73).

The oldest minute book (presumably Preparative Meeting) is dated 1693, when Friends met for worship and business in private houses. In 1825, "Two Friends were appointed as librarians and to have charge of the clock. Query, when and why was the clock removed, and where was it situated? Was it found too attractive to the children from the School, or did some Friends object to its presence?"

The eighth Swarthmore Lecture, entitled *The Quest for Truth*, was delivered by Silvanus P. Thompson, F.R.S., in the Central Hall, Westminster. (Headley, pp. 128, 1s. net.)

Edward Grubb has brought out an enlarged edition of his *The True Way of Life*, which was first published in 1909 in answer to Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey's "A New Way of Life" in which he supported Compulsory Military Training. Of the new edition the author says in the Preface: "This is really a new book. . . . I have now dropped a large part of the purely controversial matter, and have tried to present an independent statement of what I conceive to be the Christian Way of Life, with special reference to War." (Headley, pp. 151, 1s. net.)

The Present Day Message of Quakerism, by Charles M. Woodman (to be obtained from the office of "The American Friend," Richmond, Ind., \$1.00 net, pp. 106). The author in a Foreword explains that the book is the outcome of "messages" given week by week at the Friends' Church, Portland, Maine. He covers his subject in four chapters entitled: "The Basis of the Quaker Faith," "The Guide of the Quaker Life," "The Creed of the Quaker Church," "The Field of the Quaker Message."

A cutting from *The Brooklyn Sun*, issued 30th of May, 1915, from the pen of "D.G." [sent us by Daniel Gibbons, a member of the Friends Historical Society], refers to the "beliefs" of the well-known agnostic, Colonel R. G. Ingersoll.

He desires "to preserve of him" the following, having heard the story "from Jonah Rees himself," whom he describes as "a most conscientious truthful man."

Jonah Rees, "a well-known member of the Society of Friends and one 'appearing in the ministry' occasionally," whilst in the employ of a Quaker attorney of New York, Wilson M. Powell, frequently met Ingersoll in the course of business. "It was inevitable," says "D.G.," "that the Quaker and the great agnostic should touch often" on the deep mysteries of life, and on one occasion the Colonel said to Jonah Rees:—"Rees, if I could tell you what my conception of the unknown is, it would be the greatest, grandest, mightiest thing the human soul could fancy."

If we remember rightly, this was not the only occasion on which the inner soul of the man broke through the cloud of negation that enwrapped it. His pathetic utterance on the death of a saintly sister was a testimony to the strength of a Christian life, and almost amounted to a confession of the weakness of the agnostic position.

My Villa Garden, by Samuel Graveson (London : Headley, 2s. 6d. net, 124 pp., with 30 illustrations, six in colour). In nothing, perhaps, is the value of a little practical experience so apparent as in gardening. Most amateur gardeners who have indulged their ambitions reach a point where they yearn for the guidance of a *confrère* whose toil through the elementary stages is past, and who, aided by nothing but his own gumption, has successfully applied the bewildering multiplicity of instructions and hints found in the gardening books and papers. *My Villa Garden* just fills this need of the *confrère*. Its pages give the impression of a pleasing, practical result, attained by painstaking care, observation, and watchfulness. The book makes pleasant reading, and is certainly calculated to stir the imagination as to the possibilities even of a small town garden.

A privately printed tribute to the memory of Gwendolen Crewdson (1872-1913) has been presented to the Reference Library by her brother, Wilson Crewdson, the writer of the introductory pages. It contains the sermon preached by Rev. C. J. N. Child, M.A., at the unveiling of a tablet at Girton, "To the loved and honoured memory of Gwendolen Bevan Crewdson, Student, Librarian, Junior Bursar and generous friend of this College." This is followed by notices of her life from the "Girton Review" and the "St. Leonards School Gazette," also the sketch from the pen of Richard Westlake (recently deceased) which appeared in the issue of "The Friend" for 20th of February, 1914. The booklet is the inspiring record of a life of rare beauty, of "singleness of vision and aim," summed up in the words, "I wish to make something of my life." In four portraits at different ages, one of which appeared in the issue of "The Friend" above referred to, the sweetness of expression is the outward mark of the soul within.

Japan our Ally (London : Macmillan & Co., 1915, 36 pp., 2d.), by Wilson Crewdson, M.A., Member of Council, Royal Asiatic Society ; Vice-President Japan Society ; etc., etc., condenses into a few illuminating pages the history of European relations with Japan from the landing of Portuguese adventurers in 1542 to the present friendship with England. A preface by the Rt. Hon. Sir Claude M. Macdonald, P.C., G.C.M.G., etc., gives "this admirable little brochure" a good send-off, combining some of its salient points with reminiscences of Sir Claude's own experience during the twelve years in which he represented Great Britain in Japan.

After first welcoming foreigners, Japan became suspicious of the development of their intrigues and entered upon a period of exclusion of outside influence and a period of internal peace extending over two

and a half centuries. The last sixty years, however, have witnessed a remarkable change from the date of the first treaty between Japan and the United States in 1854. During this time the Japanese have shown "an aptitude for progress" almost unrivalled in history. On to their ancient conservative civilisation was grafted a new spirit under the influence of the works of John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer and Jeremy Bentham, until in 1889 a Constitution, based upon European methods, was established, and a National Assembly was set up. Under the early treaties with Japan, foreign residents were excluded from Japanese criminal and civil jurisdiction. In 1899 Great Britain led the way in releasing Japan from this intolerable system and the other Powers soon followed. Thus it took little more than forty years for Japan to rise from "Oriental feudalism" to a system of government in which her people counted for something and her laws were respected by foreign countries.

The rapid progress of Japan during these early years of the present century is a matter of common knowledge and is well summed up in the concluding pages of Mr. Crewdson's interesting essay.

The Cymdeithas Llen Cymru has reprinted, as Number III. of the Red Series, the rare tract written in 1654 by Alexander Griffiths, entitled *Sirena Vavasoriensis, a New Years Gift for the Welsh Itinerants, Or a Hue and Cry after Mr. Vavasor Powell, Metropolitan of the Itinerants, and one of the Executioners of the Gospel, by colour of the late Act for the Propagation thereof in Wales* (March, 1915, privately printed by William Lewis, Ltd., Cardiff). Vavasor Powell (1617-1670) was a notable Welsh preacher at a time when Wales was in a state of great spiritual destitution. For his relation to the Quaker movement, see "Beginnings of Quakerism," pp. 207-209. His congregations seem to have been the chief source out of which sprang the groups of Friends in Mid-Wales, and his system of itinerant preachers closely resembled the Quaker "Publishers of Truth." The piece now reprinted is adverse to Powell, whose opinions and actions are bitterly criticized, especially his opposition to tithes. There is no reference to Quakerism, which only reached Wales in 1655.

Richard Beck and Perceval Lucas contribute an excellent pedigree of the Beck family to *The Pedigree Register* for March and June, 1915, wherein the following Quaker families are linked up:—Giles, Drayton, Head, Tylor, etc.

The June issue of *The Pedigree Register* also contains articles by Joseph J. Green, entitled "Fly-Leaf Inscriptions and Family Registers," in connection with the families of Arnold, Markes, Robson, Pease and Hedley.

The Friends' Central Study Committee has issued a pamphlet entitled *Lists of Courses of Study and Text Books*, intended for the help of those wishing to form Study Circles. (To be obtained from the Secretary, Elsie M. Smith, Lynhurst, Hoddesdon, Herts.)

Notes and Queries

D.—The Reference Library of London Y.M., at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

JOHN CAM[M] EMPLOYED BY THE DUBLIN SOCIETY, 1749.—The following is an extract from *A History of the Royal Dublin Society* by H. F. Berry, 1915:—

"We find among the early records the following notice, which was issued in March, 1749: 'The Dublin Society takes this opportunity to inform the public that they have engaged Mr. John Cam [a Quaker], well skilled in English husbandry, and making ploughs and carts in the best manner, to attend gentlemen and farmers in the country as an itinerant husbandman, to advise them in the right way of ploughing and managing their land for the growth of corn. He will carry with him some ploughs of his own making, etc. Said Cam will set out from Dublin on Monday, 27th, and will go to Navan, and so proceed to the rest of Co. Meath, and the Counties of Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, etc., where he may meet growers of corn and instruct them in the right way of tillage, and thereby save labour, expense, and time. A letter of recommendation will be given him from the Society to gentlemen of the country, and they are desired to give him a fair opportunity of showing his skill.'"

[Edith Webb, Recording Clerk of Dublin Y.M., in answer to an enquiry, writes:—"The name Cam or Camm does not occur in the Dublin Register, nor in that for Cork—although Friends of

that name emigrated to America from Cork in 1708, according to A. C. Myers's *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania 1682-1750*. Besides the Registers I have also looked through Dublin Monthly Meeting Proceedings for 1749, and the National Meeting's Minutes for the same year, and the Certificates of Removal Book, thinking the letter of recommendation might have been inserted in it, but without result.]

WANTED—EVIDENCES OF DISTRESS IN ENGLAND, 1692-1699.—I should be glad of evidences from Minutes and other MS. records of the Society of Friends, of the distress prevalent in England, 1692-1699 [as a result of war and the failure of crops for seven years] and also how the same was dealt with in the various Meetings.—CHARLES R. SIMPSON, School House, Hartshill, nr. Atherstone.

A QUAKERESS AND GEORGE II. "Thursday, June 7.—His Majesty went to the house of Peers and gave the royal assent to [various] Acts.

"A female quaker who was in the house to see the King on the throne, began to hold forth, as soon as his majesty was gone, against the vanity of dress, and preached for half an hour."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1753, p. 293.

MEMORIAL TABLET ON FIRBANK FELL.—In connection with the General Meeting of Cumberland and Westmorland Friends, a Meeting for Worship was held at "George Fox's Pulpit" on Firbank Fell, on June 19, to commemorate the great gathering at which Fox spoke in 1652. A tablet bearing the following inscription was unveiled :—

"Let your Lives Speak.

"Here or near this rock George Fox preached to above one thousand 'seekers' for three hours on Sunday, 13th June, 1652. Great power inspired his message, and the meeting proved of first importance in gathering the Society of Friends. From this fell many young men went forth through England, with the living Word in their hearts, enduring manifold hardships as 'children of the light' and winning multitudes to the Truth."

WILLIAM AND ANN HOBSON (xii. 77).—Some comment on the interesting account of this man in the last number of THE JOURNAL seems to be called for. His father, Joshua Hobson, was of Southwark, and married Martha Holmes, not *Holms*. The late George Bax Holmes of Horsham (1803-1887) was of the same stock and the last representative of the old Quaker families resident in that town. Doubtless his Sussex connection through his mother made William Hobson first acquainted with his wife. She was, as stated, Ann, daughter of Caleb Rickman, of Hookland Park Farm in Shipley, whose grave in Thakeham Friends' Burial Ground

is one of the two there which have headstones, not in his case, however, a contemporary one. There is a drawing of the old Quaker home, Hookland, in the Burrell MSS., British Museum; the house was pulled down many years ago. Caleb Rickman was the youngest of five brothers and three sisters, all of whom left descendants, and of whom five out of the eight are still represented in the Society of Friends. His grandfather was John Rickman, of Hurstmonceux, and the first Quaker of the family. It should be pointed out, as the name Boreham suggests Essex, that Boreham Street, the place of his burial only, is a hamlet in Hurstmonceux. His wife was Edwards by a former marriage; she was a daughter of Clement Knell of Lydd, an early Kent Quaker. The name *Knell* has been misread in early manuscripts as *Knott*, and so appears in the printed pedigree mentioned.

William Hobson's wife could claim through her mother a descent from one of the most substantial and staunch early Quakers of Sussex, Nicholas Beard of Rottingdean, who was converted by the preaching of George Fox in 1655 (*Camb. Jnl.* i. 184). Beard, who died in 1702, at a great age, and was the father of twenty children by one wife, has a notice in *Piety Promoted*, and, of course, figures largely in Besse's *Sufferings*. He gave the Society the Burial Ground at Rottingdean, which in early days was used also by the Friends of Brighton, Lewes, and Newhaven; it is still in the hands of Friends, and available if required.—PERCEVAL LUCAS.

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(Haverford College, U.S.A.)

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1905-6. WILLIAM CHARLES BRAITHWAITE, B.A., LL.B.
1906-7. FRANCIS C. CLAYTON, J.P.
1907-8. GEORGE VAUX.
1908-9. JOSEPH JOSHUA GREEN.
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FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Income and Expenditure Account for Year ending 31st of Twelfth Month, 1914.

INCOME.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance in hand, 1 i. 1914 62 5 6	Cost of Printing <i>Journal</i> , vol. xi. 97 8 0
Annual Subscriptions 82 5 5	Postage do. 11 10 0
Sundry Sales 6 3 4	Stationery 6 15 0
Contributions to Supplement 12 43 14 1	Sundries, Insurance and Advertising 5 13 5
Donation from London Friends Fund for		Cost of Printing Supplement 12,	
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Examined and found correct,

Signed, GEORGE BENINGTON,

Treasurer.

20th of Fifth Month, 1915.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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A Glimpse of Old Nantucket

IT was my privilege the other day to stand on the moors near the western end of Nantucket Island,¹ and look over the site of the earliest English settlement.

The high wind swept so strongly from the direction of "the Continent," that even the huckleberry bushes and the short blades of yellow grass all about us leaned away from the northerly gale—"a dry nor' easter," that almost blew us off our feet.

As we looked west from our hill, Tuckernuck and Muskeget Islands were on the horizon, or nearer. North of us, on the cliff, named from a famous Indian chief, rose the pipe of the waterworks of Wonnacomett, and south stretched the "Hummocks" to the ocean. Behind us, in the distance, lay the old town of Nantucket, whence we had come. All about us was hilly ground, with swampy hollows, filled with the wonderful flora for which the Island is famous. Beds of hibiscus, and groups of the exquisite sabbatia, with many others as rare, may be found by the diligent seeker, and there are those who know the haunt of the real Scotch heather, quite at home on the moorland so like its native hills. Some of the many ups and downs, through or around which we passed, are the old cellar-holes of the first English comers on the Island.

Space does not here permit to relate the story of the early settlement by the English. Indian and Norse legend goes far back in date, but fact begins in 1641, when James Forrett, as agent for Lord Sterling, to whom all

the lands between Cape Cod and the Hudson River had been granted by the Crown, sold this Island and the two smaller ones adjoining, to Thomas Mayhew of Watertown, merchant, and his son of the same name. Eighteen years later, July 2, 1659, Mayhew, Senior, sold to the nine original proprietors, for thirty pounds and "two Beaver Hatts, one for myself and one for my wife"! The Indian titles were secured, but since the Sachems were given to deeding land owned by a neighbouring Sachem instead of their own, certain titles to property had to be unravelled with much heart-burning later on!

My chief impulse to visit this spot, now deserted by the inhabitants in favor of a more sheltered site for their town, came from an afternoon spent poring over a gift recently made, by a descendant, to the Nantucket Historical Society. This is a priceless old account book once belonging to Mary Starbuck, a woman who deserves to stand in our Quaker annals beside the Margaret Fells, Elizabeth Hootons and Mary Dyers of history.

The old vellum folio measures nine by eleven inches, and the loops for the leather thongs that tied it together are still in place. It is the third in point of age of any document so far discovered bearing on the history of early Nantucket. A memorandum inside the cover declares it to begin in 1662. But the first pages are missing, and the regular entries begin "Sept '83," when the Indian "Cannontimuck" was paid for bringing barley, "turnaps," and Indian corn (maize). Much of the pioneer life can be built up from this fascinating old book. Trade with the Indians was lively, and feathers are the means of exchange for powder and shot, and occasionally a bit of old iron. Primitive necessities and worldly luxuries are curiously mingled, as, for instance, "To a paire of purple Collered Shoos, five shillings," and "To a yerling's scin" (yearling's skin) two shillings and four pence! Fish comes from Coatue, Sasacacha and Squam, and Abigail Natane is paid eight shillings "for plowing an acre p^r Josiah," probably a squaw and her son. Some of the Indians, with their picturesque names, are Wannacomet, Cannontimuck, Wattashamonett, Shawoner, Wauwinet, and Winnapo described as "an

Indian from ye vineyard" (Martha's Vineyard).² Other Indians have received English names, like "Little Daniel," and "Mycall," and one, who is evidently a well-mannered man, is known as "ye Gentleman."

Doubtless Mary Starbuck, being a capable and versatile woman, helped to fit out her neighbors in clothing, as well as herself, for there are many charges for "making cloakes and trim" "petecotes;" a "duzen" buttons; "scains of thrid" (skeins of thread), and more than one "samar," which was a gown or scarf with its French name askew, *i.e.*, *simarre*! These more sophisticated articles are usually paid for "in Mony."

In 1699, (May 23rd) prices interest us:

A Callimink Jacob [Callimanco Jacket]	..	..	..	2	℥
As mony in pay	..	..	..	3	0 0
A stuff peticot, 8½ lb. wool, 12 sh. pr. yard	..	..	..	1	0 0
2 lbs. wool and a bonnet	..	..	..	4	6

Duffels, ozenbriggs, callimanco, are some materials in use. In November, 1686, a "Caster [beaver] Hatt and two yards of ——" [*illegible*] cost £1 3s. 6d. Mary "nets a paire of stokins" for herself, and charges them at two shillings and sixpence. A canno (canoe) is bought of an Indian, and in 1687, "To wool, to pay for the Fraite [freight] of a Horse," fifteen shillings. Another charge is "To a goate, as Mony." The great industry of sheep-raising is foreshadowed by the use of wool as another means of exchange and a spinning-wheel and cards (for wool) appear.

Some of the handwriting of the old folio is more masculine, and is probably that of Nathaniel Starbuck,³ Mary's husband. Their account runs to 1715, when their son, Nathaniel, Junior, carries it on. The whaling industry, to which volumes might be devoted, and which made of Nantucket in the eighteenth century a great and important port, is here shown in its beginnings. Indians help the natives "lay out" the oil from whales cast up on the shore, and the first entry of the Indian into the trade may be perceived in this book. In 1730, Nathaniel Starbuck, Junior, writes:

by ¼ bbl. oyl. formerly gott by lying on shoar	..	..	1	5	0
By oyl and bone gott with Tristram [Coffin] along shoar in y ^e					
winter 1730	..	..	2	17	0

There is a mine of information in the old book—but we can only hope that it will soon serve as a text for a historian.

Who was Mary Starbuck?

Born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, February 2, 1645, she was the seventh child of Tristram and Dionis Coffin.⁴ The superstitious have pointed to this fact, in following her later career! Tristram Coffin was one of the original purchasers of Nantucket, and his daughter Mary, at the age of seventeen, married Nathaniel, son of Edward and Catharine Starbuck, also of the proprietors. Mary Starbuck was a woman of rare intellect and ability, of strong character, and a domestic economist of a high order. In the absence of the men of her family she administered justice, and was loved and respected by her fellow townsmen, exerting an influence over them almost unparalleled in colonial history. She was known as "the Great Woman," and her prototype is Deborah, among the Hebrews.

Such was the position of this remarkable woman when the first Quaker preachers appeared on the Island. Earliest came Thomas Chalkley, in 1698. Then followed John Richardson, who paid a tribute to Nantucket housekeeping when he had his meeting in her "bright-rubbed room," and then came Thomas Story, in 1706. Under the powerful influence of a man whom Mary Starbuck must at once have recognised as a scholar and lawyer, as well as preacher, she embraced Quakerism with ardor and enthusiasm. Tradition asserts that Peter Folger⁵ had once baptized her as a Baptist; but she cast aside all forms and became an eloquent preacher, making many converts to the new faith. For several years meetings were held in the great "fore-room" of her home, known as "Parliament House," and she brought up her ten children to follow in her steps. Her eldest child, Mary, is said to have been the first white child born on Nantucket. Her husband recognized her very superior endowments, and aided her in every way in his power.

Mary Starbuck died September 13, 1717—her husband outliving her by two years. Quakerism on Nantucket was destined to an enormous growth, and a decline

complete. Its records are kept in Lynn, Massachusetts. Not a member of the Society now resides on the Island, where thousands once dwelt.

On the moors on which we stood that September day was the site of Mary Starbuck's home. Somewhere here, in the unmarked Quaker graveyard, in what for a time was Sherburne, lie her remains. Even the town has disappeared totally from the hill, and only the grave of John Gardiner, one of the earliest settlers, and a monument to his companions, mark the burial place of so many.

As we came away on the boat next day, with the silhouette of old Nantucket town clear cut against the sky, we could only hope that someone in the near future would give us a just tribute to the memory of Mary Starbuck.

NOTES

¹ NANTUCKET: called *Nanticon*, according to early tradition, by Leif Erikson, an explorer from Norway, A.D. 1000-1. Sir Ferdinand Gorgas (circa 1630) calls it *Nantican*. Dr. R. A. Douglas-Lithgow, in his recent book, *Nantucket: a History* (p. 25), says, "In all likelihood the name *Nanticon* was merely a Norse approximation to the original Indian name of the Island, viz., *Natocket*, meaning "The far away land." Many Indian names in Southern New England end in *et*, signifying usually some approach to water.

Nantucket Island is situated twenty-eight miles south of the Peninsula of Cape Cod, having a sandy soil, and is fifteen miles long and from three to four miles wide. In shape it is triangular. From earliest days it was inhabited by Indians, who were more friendly with the first white settlers than many historians have given them credit for.

[See Lydia S. Hinchman, *Early Settlers of Nantucket*, 1901 (in D.).—Eds.]

² MARTHA'S VINEYARD.—The name has been ascribed to Bartholomew Gosnold, who probably landed there in 1602. Captain John Smith, however, whose *General Historie of Virginia* was published in 1624 (see *Works*: Arber Ed., p. 333), says "And by the blossomes we might perceive there would be plenty of strawberries, resperies . . . etc., which made us call it *Martha's Vineyard*."

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says that *Martin's Vineyard* "appears on some maps as late as 1670." This name has never been in common use, and appears to be a later form, and, probably, incorrectly used.

This island lies west of Nantucket, and nearer the mainland, nineteen miles long, and some five miles in width, less sandy than its neighbor, and in certain parts very productive. The last Indians on "The Vineyard" have only disappeared in comparatively recent years.

[A novel by Agnes Harrison picturing life on this Island, entitled *Martin's Vineyard*, appeared in 1872 (see THE JOURNAL, ix. 124).—Eds.]

³ The names of EDWARD and NATHANIEL STARBUCK in connection with Nantucket first occur February 2nd, 1659, at Salisbury, Massachusetts, as Associates of the original Nantucket owners. The first house on the Island was built by Edward Starbuck, who died in 1691. Nathaniel Starbuck married Mary, daughter of Tristram Coffin, and their ten children have perpetuated the name to the present day. Mary Starbuck died 1717, Nathaniel, her husband, in 1719. The Starbuck account book after 1715 contains no entry in the earlier hand. After 1734 it was kept by Nathaniel Starbuck, Jun., who died 1753. The Starbucks from the first settlement were chief traders with the Indians, and the place of exchange was at one or other of their houses.

Edward Starbuck is supposed to have accompanied Thomas Macy, his wife and five children, to Nantucket, in the autumn of 1659, and they are usually regarded as the first settlers. There is documentary proof that Macy had been fined by the General Court of Massachusetts for "harboring Quakers," but the actual circumstances of Whittier's charming poem, "The Exiles," must not be seriously taken as history.

⁴ TRISTRAM COFFIN, a resident of Salisbury, Massachusetts, where dwelt most of the associate owners of the Island. He was the pioneer among the purchasers of 1659, and his favorable report, after a preliminary visit, is supposed to have led the first group of proprietors to undertake the settlement of Nantucket. He had five sons—Tristram, James, Peter, John, and Stephen. One daughter married Stephen Greenleaf, and another Nathaniel Starbuck. Tristram Coffin was one of the most prominent men on the Island until his death in October, 1681. His descendant, Lucretia (1793-1880), daughter of Thomas Coffin, of the town of Nantucket, married James Mott, of New York, and became a well-known leader in the Abolition Movement and the early political Suffrage cause.

Mary Coffin, Tristram's seventh child, shared in a belief common to many primitive people, that a fortunate star presided over the birth of a seventh son or daughter, and still more, the seventh of a seventh.

⁵ PETER FOLGER.—Born in England, 1617. Came to America with his father about 1635, and was living on the Island of Martha's Vineyard in 1658. He appears to have gone to Nantucket as interpreter of the Indian language for the first group of settlers. He took a half share as proprietary and removed there in 1659. Peter Folger was probably the best educated man among the settlers, and at once became very influential. He was the town miller, and a weaver and blacksmith, besides filling the offices of surveyor and keeper of the records. After 1673, he was made Clerk of the Courts, and wrote *A Looking Glass for the Times, or the Former Spirit of New England Revived in this Generation*. He died at Nantucket in 1690.

Peter Folger was the maternal grandfather of Benjamin Franklin, whose mother was his daughter, Abiah. She married Josiah Franklin, tallow-chandler, who was of a Northamptonshire family. Benjamin Franklin, born in Boston, January 6th [O.S.], 1706, was the fifteenth of their seventeen children.

Haverford, Pa.

AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE.

Where the holy sense is lost, possession of the highest truths cannot preserve against the enemy's assaults.

WILLIAM PENN, *Tender Counsel and Advice*, 1695, p. 6.

A Quaker Courtship

THE character of the [second] wife of Isaac T. Hopper was extremely modest and reserved; and he took mischievous pleasure in telling strangers the story of his courtship in a way that made her blush. "Dost thou know what Hannah answered, when I asked her if she would marry me?" said he. "I will tell thee how it was. I was walking home with her one evening, soon after the death of her mother, and I mentioned to her that as she was alone now, I supposed she intended to make some change in her mode of living. When she said yes, I told her I had been thinking it would be very pleasant to have her come and live with me. 'That would suit me exactly,' said she. This prompt reply made me suppose she might not have understood my meaning; and I explained that I wanted to have her become a member of my family; but she replied again, 'There is nothing I should like better.'"

The real fact was, the quiet and timid Hannah Attmore was not dreaming of such a thing as a proposal of marriage. She supposed he spoke of receiving her as a boarder in his family. When she at last perceived his meaning, she slipped her arm out of his very quickly, and was too much confused to utter a word. But it amused him to represent that she seized the opportunity the moment it was offered.

L. MARIA CHILD, *Life of Isaac T. Hopper* [1771-1852], 1853, p. 370.

Isaac T. Hopper and his Quaker Library

NO man in the country [America] had such a complete Quaker library. He contrived to pick up every old rare volume connected with the history of his sect. He had a wonderful fondness and reverence for many of those books. They seemed to stand to him in the place of old religious friends, who had parted from his side in the journey of life. There, at least, he found Quakerism that had not degenerated; that breathed the same spirit as of yore. . . . His Quaker library was left in the care of his children, with directions that it should be kept where members of the Society of Friends or others interested could have ready access to it.

L. MARIA CHILD, *Life of Isaac T. Hopper* [1771-1852], pp. 380, 404, 477.

Where is this library now?

It is related by Sewel, the historian, that the havoc and spoil which Friends in Ireland underwent, about the year 1689, was enormous; the losses sustained by them, in one year alone, being estimated at £100,000.

Select Miscellanies, 1852, i. 141.

John Bright

JB...t 1826

By the kindness of Ernest E. Taylor we are able to present our readers with above reproduction of the carving by John Bright [1811-1889] of his initials on a form in the Meeting House at Newton-in-Bowland, in the year 1826. We are informed that many years later, about 1870, when John Bright revisited Newton, he looked at the carving and acknowledged it as his work.

When I reflect on the deep mysteries of our religion - when I remember my own doubts and my own faults; - when I think upon the awful & unknown future, - what am I that I should judge another in religious things, & condemn a fellow man to exclusion & persecution on such grounds as these?

London

April 30. 1881

John Bright

Postscript of a letter addressed to Isaac Sharp [1806-1897] at "Sydney, N.S.W." from 132, Piccadilly, London, in the possession of Isaac Sharp, nephew of the above.

John Bellers in Official Minutes

Concluded from page 127

THE years 1693 to 1699 have been described as "the seven years of famine," and a study of the period leads to the conclusion that the title is an accurate description. Among the torrent of literature containing suggestions for the relief of the prevailing distress, one pamphlet is worthy of more attention than it has heretofore received. It came from the hand of John Bellers and was entitled *Proposals for Raising A Colledge of Industry of all useful Trades and Husbandry, with Profit for the Rich, a Plentiful Living for the Poor, and a Good Education for Youth*. This was first published in the year 1695, and reprinted in 1696. Since then it has been reprinted several times. In 1790 it appeared as an anonymous pamphlet entitled *A Plan of a Public Charity, with some former Plan for the same Purpose*; then again, by John Morton Eden in his *State of the Poor*, issued 1797, and also by Robert Owen in the year 1817. Owen, according to his biographers, owed a good deal to Bellers. He tells us that Bellers "furnished the actual model for the villages of co-operation and unity"; certainly the influence of Bellers can be traced in Robert Owen's method and ideas.⁵

Bellers's *Proposals*, in common with other material intended for publication, was submitted to the "Second Days Morning Meeting," and a Committee was appointed to consider the MS. in conjunction with a Committee of fifteen appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings, including Daniel Quare and William Meade. The full minute of the Meeting for Sufferings reads as follows and is under date of the 5th of Fifth Month, 1695.

Jn^o ffield signifyinge y^t he and Theodor Eccleston were desired by the 2^d dayes Morning [Meet:] to acq^t this Meet: of a proposall of Jn^o Bellers's Relating to the poor (which he proposed to be Recommended to the severall Quarterly Meetings in the Counties) and y^t Meet:

⁵ See THE JOURNAL xi. 93.

desireing y^e some friends might be Nominated by this Meeting to meet the friends appointed by them to Read and consider the same.

This Meet: therefore Referrs the Consideraçon thereof to the friends following [fifteen in number] or any 4 of them, with any other faithfull friends y^e are free to Meet at the Close of the 2 Weeks Meeting at Devonshire house and B. Bealing to give the friends absent Notice to be there.

At a meeting of the Second Day's Morning Meeting held the 26th of Sixth Month, 1695, it is recorded: "Jn^o Bellers Manuscript is left to him to doe with as he sees meet."

No doubt this pamphlet was read widely by Friends. In order to emphasise the importance of the social problem the Yearly Meeting of 1697 made an appointment of eight to consider a scheme suggested by John Bellers for employing the poor. In reporting to a later sitting this Committee recommended that Monthly and Quarterly Meetings should be consulted. The Committee's detailed suggestions are embodied in the following epistle⁶:

To the friends and Brethren of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in England and Wales.

Dear friends

In the love of the powerfull holy Truth which hath gathered us into one body and Reduceth all things into y^e best order We tenderly salute you: hereby signifyeing That for as much as severall Members of our last yearly meeting and others of the Brethren here, have expressed their Deep and Weighty concern for the better Education of our Children and Youth in an Early Instruction in the way of Truth, and also in the acquirements of usefull Languages and Sciences, and in neccessarie Jmployements of labour and Industry, suitable to their age ability and strength

It was proposed to y^e meeting to consider of the most proper methods and means for effecting of things soe neccessarie and Important both to y^e poor and Rich. To w^{ch} end and for the Receiving of all proposalls on this subject a select meet: was appointed by the Yearly Meet: whose Report being Returned the matter was at last assigned unto us to Receive further proposalls, and to Recommend unto your serious Consideraçon. The substance whereof followeth.

As to y^e printed proposall of John Bellers for a Colledge of Industry for y^e better Maintenance of y^e Poor and Education of Children. We think fitt to Reccommend the same to your farther consideraçon how farr it may answer the ends by him proposed and how much you may

⁶ Sundry Ancient Epistles, p. 154 (MS. in D.).

be willing to Incourage it by a Voluntary Contribution. ffor if one House or Colledge for a begining were set on foote by a Joynt stock by ffriends of Estates throughout y^e Kingdom (severall having subscribed considerably already) it might by Right Managem^t be of Use to the Ends intended and of good Report and Example to the Naton.

For the better Education of the youth of ffriends there is a concern on Us tenderly to Reccommend to you that care be taken to have such schools in your respective Countyes wherein your Children may not onely be Instructed in Languages and Sciences in the Way of Truth, but likewise in some profitable and commendable labours or Industrious Exercise, w^{ch} may prevent many Temptations attending idleness and instill principles of Jndustry with Literature both in rich and poor, which may also contribute to y^e poor Childrens Maintenance and take away the occasion of the Reflection of the Dutch Proverb on our English viz^t That they keep their Children to work to make things for ours to playe withall—and this also will no way be Irsome to Children, when put upon it in a loving way.

3 To which end that care be taken in every County to allow a Competent Maintenance to Masters or at first 2 or 3 Countyes may Joyne and have the use of some Convenient House or Houses Rent free—and any suitable and Incourageing sune Borne by the County or Countyes, and that in Consid^ra^con thereof a Competent Number of the Children of Poor friends or such as cannot well bestow Education at schooles be Taught free cost or if Boarded to be assisted therein by y^e Countyes.

This with w^t might be added by ffriends that are able to pay 'tis hoped will prove a comfortable subsistance for such as shall fitt themselves for y^t Jmploye.

4 That in order to Breed up school Masters it be considered by Monthly or Quarterly Meets^s w^t poor Children of ffriends are of a proper Genius for Learning that they may be Qualified for y^t Jmployem^t at such meet : or meets^s cost.

5 And its Reccommended to your Respective meets^s : to take care some Weighty suitable ffriends goe and inspect Schooles and the ffamilyes of ffriends in the severall Countyes, and to see y^t the advice of ffriends be duly answered in this great concern and y^t w^t care possible may be had by all ffriends not to Receive into their Houses as servants any but such as are well disposed. That the Manners of their Children be not corrupted by their evill Communication nor Taught Evill in Word or Deed by their Example ; for Children and servants converse much together, and the Children when Tender are very subject to Receive Jmpressions from such as they converse with.

6 That special care be had that such Children as are fitt for apprentices be put unto honest ffriends that they may be preserved in the way of Truth—in Habitt and Language—and encouraged to goe to meets^s the contrary practice haveing been often seen to be of very ill Consequence.

7 That whereas there may be divers young Men among ffriends that

are already in some degree Capable of Teaching Children if any such come Reccommended from Monthly or Quarterly Meetings Rich^d Scoryer of Wansworth near London offers freely to Informe and direct such in his method of Teaching and to take some Pains in compleating them in Writting or Arithmitick They providing for themselves Meat Drink and Lodging.

Signed on behalfe of the 2^d days morning meet : and meet : for sufferings, Lond^e the 2^d 5 mo. 1697, By

BENJAMIN BEALING.

Postscript.

And its desired that the friends of the Monthly and Quarterly Meets Report back to y^e meet : for sufferings their sense of the foregoing Propositions. If any friend desire Jn^o Bellers Printed Proposals Tace Sowle the Printer can supply them.

Following out the Yearly Meeting's suggestion the "Proposals" were referred to Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for consideration, and from the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings it is possible to get some idea of the opinion up and down the country. On the 29th of Eighth Month, 1697, a letter is read from Cornwall Quarterly Meeting, reporting that "they look upon the designe of John Bellers as reasonable and Charitable," but distance prevents them from doing very much. The "City Monthly Meet within the Walls" on the 9th of Twelfth Month, 1697, write that "they had Considered of Jn^o Bellers proposition for settling the poor at Work—and desire it may be Encouraged—and are Endeavouring to answer the severall propositions for Erecting and Regulating of Schooles." Gloucester Quarterly Meeting reports approval of the proposals to the Meeting held 4th of First Month, 1697/8, which Meeting directs Benjamin Bealing "to get the act for Jmployeing the poor at Bristoll agst next Meeting." On the 25th of First Month, 1698, it is recorded:

Jn^o Bellers bro^t in the Minutes of the Bristoll Act And an Abstract of a Bill for the Jmployeing y^e poor. Jn^o Bellers and Rich^d Hawkins are desired to help fri^{ds} to y^e Bristoll and Colchester Acts or any other for Jmploying the Poor.

The consideration is referred to twenty-two prominent Friends who were asked "to meet at y^e Chamber next 3^d day at 5th hour in the Evening to prepare Heads suitable to our Case for y^e Jmploying of our poor."

At the meeting held on the 1st of Second Month a copy of the "Herefordshire Bill" was brought in, while at the next meeting on the 8th of Second Month, Friends on the appointment are requested "to consult members of Parliament re drawing up some Heads proper for a Bill for the Jmpleyeng our poor." This was done and on the 12th of Third Month Friends were able to record "A Bill brot in drawn up by a Clerk in Parliamt in Relation to the better Jmpleyeng and Maintaining of our poor."

Progress is reported eight days later.

A Draught of a Bill for the better Maintaining and Jmpleyeng of our poor of London, Westm^r and Midx Read and Referred to Joseph Wyeth, Hen^r: Gouldney and Dan^l Quare to assist B. Bealing in getting it made more pfect ags^t next Meeting.

Under date 21st of Eighth Month, the three Friends above named "are desired to get the Draught of the Poores Bill finished with all Expedition ags^t the setting of the Ensueing Parliamt." It was finally produced at the meeting on the 2nd of Tenth Month, 1698.

It is sad to relate that all the labour spent on the perfecting of this Parliamentary Bill was rendered useless by the dropping of the proposed measure! But not to be daunted, the Friends were continued to inspect Bills then before Parliament, especially to obtain a copy of "the Bill Relateing to the Conveying of Lands to any Colledge or Schoole for the Education of poor Schoolars or any other Charitable Uses."

On the 20th of Eleventh Month, 1698/9,

John Bellers, Theodor Eccleston, Dan^l Quare or any Two of them are desired to consider of a General Clause y^t may be proper to Jncert in the Bill for Charitable Uses or any other Bill y^t they think meet, for the Jmpleyeng and otherwise Provideing for our Poor And y^e Draught of y^e Poores Bill Is at p^rsent laid bye.

Although Friends' own particular Bill was "laid bye," they still held a watching brief for the distressed poor during those trying years. On the 26th of Eleventh Month, 1699, the Meeting for Sufferings minuted:

The votes yesterday mentioning a Bill being brot in for the better Providing for the poor and seting y^m to work Theodor Eccleston &c to take out a Coppy of s^d Bill if they see cause.

At the same meeting Friends, including John Bellers, George Whitehead, Daniel Quare and William Meade, are desired to petition Parliament for a Bill to be brought in for the purchasing of lands and erecting of workhouses. By the 14th of First Month, 1700/01 it was reported to the meeting that permission must be obtained from Parliament before Friends could employ their own poor, and a Committee was appointed to go through the various Bills which had previously been before the meeting, and report "what they think proper to be done therein." A week later they present the following report:

After divers Considerations It was first agreed that John Bellers, John Danson, Hen: Gouldney, Theodor Eccleston or any 2 shall goe to Counsell upon the stat. 39. Eliz: Chap^r 5 to enquire whether or no y^e will not secure ffrinds in their Jntent of Work Houses and stocks to Employe and support our poor seeing we want not the Powers of a House of Correction as is much the Purpose of divers of the late Acts for the Poor.

John Bellers is desired by the meeting to "attend the Parliam^t upon a Gen^l Clause Relating to y^e Poor to be put in y^e Poors Bill."

On the 27th of Fourth Month, 1701, the opinions of Counsellor North and Counsellor King are brought to the meeting and Benjamin Bealing is ordered to enter the same in "the book of Presidents,"⁷ and also "to search to see w^t Monthly Meetings have omitted to Returne their Answers to this or the six Weeks meet: w^t they will doe in Relation to y^e Jmploying y^e Poor." The following minute is entered:

This meeting upon due Consideraçon of said Councells opinions Is satisfied that ffrinds may Jmploye their Poor with safety. And it's agreed y^t the Quarterly Meets: be acquainted herewith in order for their Reccommending it to the Severall Monthly Meetings if they see meet to appoint two or 3 out of each meeting wth Direction to them to meet and Consult for the Managem^t of the s^d affaire and y^t they come Provided with an acco^t of the Poor and their sever^l Capacities.

The story of the negotiations for the establishment of the Clerkenwell Workhouse, and the early

⁷ Book of Cases, ii. 74 (MS. in D.).

history of that Institution, would require a separate article for its presentation, but it is clear that even before Counsels' opinion had been taken and legal difficulties settled, arrangements were well in hand for the establishment of the Workhouse.

The decease, in the early years of the eighteenth century, of the parents of Frances, wife of John Bellers,⁸ required him to give closer attention to his wife's estate at Coln St. Aldwyns, of which place he became Lord of the Manor. The property was held on lease from the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester.

The death of John Bellers took place in London on the 28th of Second Month, 1725. A full transcript of his will was printed on pages 103 to 108.

CHARLES R. SIMPSON.

⁸ Mary Fettiplace died on the 4th of First Month, 1700/01, and Giles Fettiplace on the 20th of Ninth Month, 1702.

The Preacher and his "Tools"

On the return voyage of Isaac T. Hopper [1771-1852] from a business visit to Europe, there was among the passengers a clergyman, whose acquaintance he made. At the Custom House in New York this clergyman was in some perplexity about a large quantity of books he had brought with him, on which it was proposed to charge high duties.

"Perhaps I can get them through for thee," said Friend Hopper. "I will try."

He went up to the officer and said, "Isn't it a rule of the Custom-house not to charge a man for the tools of his trade?" He replied that it was.

"Then thou art bound to let this priest's books pass free," rejoined the Friend. "Preaching is the trade he gets his living by, and these books are the tools he must use."

The clergyman, being aware of Quaker views with regard to a paid ministry, seemed doubtful whether to be pleased or not with such a mode of helping him out of difficulty. However, he took the joke as good-naturedly as it was offered, and the books passed free, on the assurance that they were all for his own library.

L. MARIA CHILD, *Life of Isaac T. Hopper*, 1853, p. 313.

Stranger Friends Visiting Scotland, 1650-1797

Continued from page 145

1700

GEORGE DIPLIDGE of Norwich, who "had som testimony in the oppen streat [at Edinburgh] for which he was putt in the tolboth," JOSHUA MIDDLETON of Newcastle, JOHN DOUBLEDAY of Alnwick Abbey,¹ JOHN HIND, MARTIN BOUSTIN [Bowstead] of Cumberland,² THOMAS BAKER, RICHARD LATTIMER.¹ MARY ELLERTON of York and "her companion" were at Aberdeen Yearly Meeting, also at Hamilton, where, with other Friends, she was imprisoned "wpon the account [of her] declairing hir mind to the peopell when they ware coming out of the stepelhouss in the greav yaird She wrott appeper afterwards for the toun of hameltown which was read at this meeting," says the Clerk of Edinburgh Yearly Meeting, "and this meeting had unity with it."¹ Another English Friend who this year penned "a good and savoury paper" which met with the approval of Friends of Aberdeen and Edinburgh was THOMAS HICKS, but it seems doubtful whether he himself had been in Scotland.^{1,2} "Two honest English Friends," ANDREW GRAHAM of Cumberland and HENRY ATKINSON of London.²

In addition to the above, the following Friends are stated to have visited Scotland, probably towards the close of the seventeenth century:—JOSHUA BARBER of Yorkshire, JOHN CLOSE,³ JOHN ESTAUGH, ROGER LONGWORTH,³ RICHARD RANSOM of Norfolk,³ WILLIAM RIGG of Lancashire,³ SAMUEL WALDENFIELD of London.

1701

ELIZABETH JACOB of Limerick,⁴ THOMAS BRAITHWAITE and JOHN THOMPSON both of Westmorland,¹ SAMUEL BOWNAS, accompanied by ISAAC THOMPSON,

"a young man who had a fine gift"; when near Dumfries they fell in with JAMES DICKINSON and RICHARD and ROBERT LATTIMER all of Cumberland, and after they had had some refreshment at the inn in that town, Samuel Bownas relates: "James said to us 'Lads, I find a concern to go into the street, will you go with me?'" They caused quite a sensation, "for," says Samuel Bownas, "the Quakers were seldom seen in that town so many together. . . . James lifted up his voice like a trumpet among the people who were very quiet and attentive. When he was clear, we retired back to our inn, and divers followed us, who were very rude and wicked, but were not permitted to hurt us."⁵ JOHN FOTHERGILL again visited Friends throughout Scotland:

Being in many Places truly comforted with Friends, and they encouraged and glad in a living Sense of the continued fatherly Regard, and Extendings of the Love of God toward them in that Nation, amongst a hard, self-conceited, and in some Places an envious People. . . . But a Case happen'd at Glasgow, when I was there, somewhat remarkable; on a First-day of the Week, the People had very much disturbed us, in the afternoon Meeting especially, in their usual wicked and vain manner, and followed Friends after Meeting along a large open Street, where their Number increased, some shouting and scorning, others throwing Stones and Dirt; one Stone of some Pounds weight passed with great force very near one of my Legs, which if it had been hit, must, I believe have been broke by it; yet we were preserved from much harm: Whilst the People who were gather'd in great Numbers about their Doors, and saw what passed, seemed rather to be pleased with the abusive Behaviour of the Mob towards us, than to offer any Discouragement to them: Whereupon a Soldier, an Englishman, began to cry aloud three times, as if he had some publick Proclamation to make; and when he had thereby drawn the Peoples Attention to him, he called aloud again, "Behold the godly Town of Glasgow, how they entertain Strangers!" and repeated it three several times. Which Reproof made the People so ashamed, that they mostly took to their Houses and got out of sight.⁶

ALEXANDER SEATON and RICHARD MERSER from Ireland.²

1702

JAMES HALLIDAY, MARY LUPTON and ELIZABETH SCRIPPER.¹ JOHN CHALMERS from Ireland,¹ ² THOMAS WILSON from Kendal.³ KATHERINE [Frost] STORRS visited Scotland probably during this year.⁷

1703

BENJAMIN HOLME of York, and WILLIAM BALDING: "At several Places we declared the Truth in the Streets." In Glasgow they were put in prison by "the Provost or Mayor (as he said) for travelling on the First day."⁵ JAMES DICKINSON and JONATHAN BURNYEAT, AMOS HIDLEY,¹ PATRICK HENDERSON of Dublin: when at Kinneil, near Linlithgow, he penned what the Records term "a weighty paper" addressed to the different Meetings in Scotland, and which would appear to have been soon afterwards printed.^{1, 2} JAMES BATTS [Bates] "of Wirginie." CHRISTOPHER STORY,¹ JANE FEARON of Cumberland, who is said to have been in Scotland twice this year. (It was probably on one of these occasions, when in company with James Dickinson, that she experienced those gruesome adventures at the lonely inn which used to thrill us juveniles.)⁹

1704

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG and THOMAS SCOTT,^{1, 2} WILLIAM WILLIAMSON of Westmorland and ISAAC [?] JOHN THOMPSON.⁷

1705

JOHN CHAMBERS from Dublin, JOHN DOUBLEDAY, RICHARD FROST,¹ ESTHER FROST and RACHEL STORY,² JAMES HALIDAY, JOSHUA MIDDLETON.¹

1706

SAMUEL BLAIN, JOHN BOUSTEAD, JOHN CARLISLE, JAMES GILLESPIE, JOHN GRAHAM were all at Edinburgh Y.M.¹ THOMAS RUDD "for declairing his mind, preaching repentance in the Strits" was imprisoned at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and "in the thives hole" at Kelso.¹ THOMAS WILSON.³

1707

JAMES HALIDAY, JOHN HUGGALL, ANTHONY STURDY, CALEB TENNANT, JOHN "WRUING" [?] Urwen or Irwin of Cumberland] were all at Edinburgh Y.M.¹

1708

JONATHAN BOWMAN, JONATHAN BURNYEAT, JOHN DOUBLEDAY,¹ JOHN FALLOWFIELD and DAVID HUDSON,²

JAMES HALIDAY,¹ "Honest" BENJAMIN HOLME,² JOHN HUDSON, JEREMY HUNTER of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, JOSHUA MIDDLETON, JAMES WILSON of Westmorland.¹

1709

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, PETER ALISON, JOSEPH ATKINSON, HUMPHREY DOUBLEDAY, JOHN DOUBLEDAY, JOHN FALLINFIELD [? Fallowfield], DANIEL FORENESS [or Furnish], WILLIAM GLOSTER, RICHARD GRAHAM, JAMES HALIDAY, DAVID HODGEN [? Hodgson of Carlisle], WILLIAM HODGSONE, BENJAMIN HOLME, ROBERT HUNTINGTOUN [? of Carlisle], JONATHAN OSTELL of Cumberland, JOSEPH PATERSON, JOHN ROBBE, CHRISTOPHER STORY, THOMAS WAIK "from the Englishsid," RICHARD WATT.¹

1710

SAMUEL WILKINSON and WILLIAM WATTSON from Ireland attended Aberdeen Yearly Meeting.²

1711

DANIEL BELL [? of London], THOMAS FOSTER of Cumberland, ISAAC HADDEN [? Hadwen, of Yorkshire], ARCHIBALD HETHERINGTON of Cumberland.¹ ELIZABETH JACOB travelled in Scotland this year or next.⁴ JOHN LOWDON from Ireland.² SAMUEL SCOTT of London, GILBERT THOMPSON of Lancashire, THOMAS "URUIN" [? Irwin] of Cumberland.¹

1712

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, MUNGO BEULY from Ireland.¹ PETER FEARON from West Jersey, America.² JAMES GRAHAM, SAMUEL HOPWOOD,¹ JAMES STIRRAT from Ireland.²

1713

JOSEPH "ÆESWAY," JOHN ARMSTRONG,¹ JONATHAN BARON of Yorkshire, and ROBERT THOMPSON of Westmorland.² DANIEL FURNISH, THOMAS GRIER and WILLIAM HENDERSON of Ireland, JOHN SANDERSON, DANIEL STENHOUSE, THOMAS WETHERHILL.² Most of these Friends attended the Yearly Meeting at Edinburgh in Third Month.

1714

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, JOHN BELL, WILLIAM GRAHAM,
ISAAC HUNTENTON of Carlisle, CHRISTOPHER STORY.¹

1715

RICHARD BULLMAN,¹ JAMES GREIR of Ireland,^{1,2}
ROBERT JACKSON,¹ JOHN TURNER of Ireland.^{1,2}

1716

SAMUEL BOND, GEORGE GIBSON, JOSEPH GILL,
JOHN GRIERS, of Ulster, JO: NICHOLSON, JOHN
PARKINSON, EDMUND PECKOVER, STEPHEN SEDGWICK,
JOHN WALTON.¹

1717

ABRAM GOYMER, CALEB GRANGER,² JOHN IRVING
[? Irwin], DANIEL STEVENSON.² These four Friends were
at Edinburgh Yearly Meeting and signed the Epistle ad-
dressed to London Yearly Meeting.¹⁰ Lydia Lancaster of
Lancashire, who is said to have visited Scotland twice,³
seems to have been at Ury this year, "07 : : 07 : : 0"
having been paid to a Friend of that Meeting "for con-
voying JO: THOMSONE and LYDIA LANCASTER South."²

1718

HENRY ATKINSON, JO: GRAHAM, THOMAS STANNIX¹ :
probably this is the same Friend as "Tho: Stainrock"
who is said to have attended Aberdeen Yearly Meeting
with MARY HEY.²

1719

ISAAC HUNTEN Elder [? Huntington],¹ WALTER
NEWBERRY of Boston, New England,² RICHARD
PARTRIDGE, RICHARD WAYT, "ANA WOLSON with her
Companion" were at Hamilton Monthly Meeting this
Summer."¹

1720

HENRY ATKINSON,¹ SAMUEL BOWNAS and his com-
panion JOHN BLAMORE, a young man from Sedburgh.
"I found friends in that nation," says Samuel Bownas,
"very much decreased in number, above one half, and
sundry meetings quite dropt, unless when a friend

came to visit them. I spent about six weeks in that nation, but nothing extraordinary happened."⁵ WALTER NEWBERRY and his companion RICHARD PARTRIDGE.²

1721

THOMAS ERESKIN of Allendale [afterwards of Edinburgh], HENRY SMITH of Northampton, WILLIAM FRANCIS, MARGARET WILLIAMSON [probably *née* Jaffray].²

1722

JAMES MILLER.¹

1723

JOSEPH BLACKBURN, THOMAS JOHNSON of Thorn, CHRISTOPHER TAYLOR.

1724

JOHN BLAIR, JOHN FOTHERGILL, WILLIAM IRWIN, RICHARD ROBISON.² JAMES PILLAR and JOHN TURNER from Ireland.²

1726

RALPH CRIFTER, JOHN DOUBLEDAY. Twelve pounds Scots were paid by Edinburgh Meeting "for guiding TABITHA HORNOR of Leeds and HANNAH DENT to Montross": and a similar sum "for guiding BETTY WILSON & her Companion"¹ [probably ELIZABETH WILSON of Ireland, and her companion, ELIZABETH PEASE];⁷ whilst £6. 4. 0 Scots was expended "in conveying JOHN YEATS of Yorkshire to Kelso, & shoeing & bleeding his Horse."¹

1727

WILLIAM GRAHAM, JOHN HUDSON, PETER HUDSON of Cumberland, JOHN TATE.¹

1728

JOHN BLAIN. THOMAS SCOTT and THOMAS STORY, who both spent some days in Edinburgh as we learn from the Meeting Accounts of money paid for their horses.¹ Thomas Story gives some interesting particulars of the good meetings which were held in various parts of the South of Scotland, although, he remarks,

the number of Friends had greatly decreased. At Linlithgow, where there were only about half-a-dozen Friends left, there came to the Meeting "a wild-looking sort . . . but we sitting under some Concern and Sense of the Grace of God towards them, they grew more solid, and we had a good Time among them; and they went away very grave and sober." The public meeting at Glasgow was crowded "not with a rude Rabble, as in Times past, but an intelligent People, looking reputable among Men."¹ THOMAS WILKINSON of Cumberland,² BENJAMIN HOLME, "having had Drawings for some Time to visit Friends in North Britain," left his home in York in Eleventh Month and journeyed as far North as Elgin, returning by Aberdeen and the east coast, "having several Meetings amongst People that were not of our Society." His labours seem to have been continued throughout the winter and following spring.⁸

1729

BENJAMIN HOLME, ROBERT JORDAN from America, who took charge of the Epistle addressed by Edinburgh Yearly Meeting to London, JAMES MILLER.¹

1730

THOMAS BLEMIRE, DANIEL GLOSTER, ARCHIBALD HETHERINGTON, JOHN HUNTINGDON, HENRY IVISON, ROBERT LATIMER, THOMAS STORY and CHRISTOPHER WILSON, all Cumberland Friends, attended Edinburgh Yearly Meeting.¹

1731

CHARLES ALSOP, JOHN FETHERSTON, JOHN FOTHERGILL, JOHN HETHRENTON, "JOSS" JACKSON, RICHARD WAITT, THOMAS WETHERELL, ROWLAND WILSON of Westmorland.¹

1732

JOSEPH BLACKBURN, JOHN BROWN, JEREMIAH HUNTER. EDWARD WALTON and LANCELOT WARDELL, both of Sunderland.

1733

JOHN ASHTON and JONATHAN BARNES from Ireland.⁷ JOHN BROWN, JOSEPH MILNER, DAVID SAUL.¹

1734

DANIEL BADGER of London, JOHN BROWN, JAMES COTTON, JAMES MILLER. JOHN SHAW [? of Lancashire] and his companion.

1735

BENJAMIN HOLME. In the course of his journeyings throughout Scotland he reached Frazerburgh, where he "visited him called Lord Pitsligo, who received me kindly; and that Night I went to Lord Salton's, so called, who likewise received me kindly; I had a Meeting there, his Wife being a pious tender Woman."⁸

1736

THOMAS ANDERSON, THOMAS CARR [of Settle].¹

1737

THOMAS COLDWELL of Darlington.¹ BENJAMIN HOLME paid another general visit to Scotland.⁸ MATHEW MELLOR and WILLIAM TAYLOR [both of Manchester].¹ JOHN TURNER and THOMAS TRUEMAN from Ireland.^{1, 2} DAVID HALL of Skipton in Craven, and JEREMY WHALLEY were probably in Scotland this year.¹²

1738

ISAAC SHARPLES of Hitchin, probably this year.³

1740

This year MOSES ALDRIDGE, of New England, probably visited Scotland, accompanied by ABRAHAM FULLER of Dublin¹³ (Moses Aldridge was certainly in Ireland this year¹⁴).

1741

SARAH BIRKBECK of Settle.¹⁵ "BETTY" SMITH [? of Norfolk] and "MOLLY" STORRS.¹

1742

"BETTY SIMKIN" [? Elizabeth Simpkins of Northamptonshire] and her companion. This was not improbably ALICE FETHERSTONE of Northumberland, who is said to have visited Scotland before her marriage in 1743.³

1743

THOMAS CHAPMAN from Yorkshire,² HENRY HAMMOND.¹

1744

JOHN BELL [? of London] signed the Epistle from Edinburgh Yearly Meeting in Third Month to London Yearly Meeting.¹⁰ ELIZABETH SHIPLEY, from Pennsylvania, probably visited Scotland this year.¹⁶ She was in Ireland in Third Month.¹⁷

1746

One of the last entries for this year in the very imperfectly kept accounts of Glasgow Meeting is the following:—"1746 paid for Sam fudergill and his wife o. 6. 4."¹ (Probably SAMUEL and SUSANNAH FOTHERGILL of Warrington.)

1749

SUSANNAH HATTON, from Ireland. ELIZABETH HUDSON from Philadelphia, "who had NELLY REBANKS, daughter to Thomas Rebanks of Kendal for her Companion, but she did not appear in Publick." PETER HUDSON and RACHEL SAUL, both of Cumberland. SAMUEL SPAVOLD of Folkestone, HENRY TRUEMAN of London.¹

1750

JOHN BEVINGTON of Warwickshire, SARAH CRAWLEY of Hitchin, and SARAH GOODWIN of Essex. JOHN KENDAL of Colchester, JOHN LEWIS of Pembrokeshire, DANIEL STANTON of Philadelphia.¹

The following Ministering Friends are also stated to have visited Scotland, probably during the first half of the eighteenth century:—JOHN ADAM of Yorkshire,⁷ RUTH ALDERSON of Ravenstondale, who is said to have

laboured diligently in Scotland,³ WILLIAM BACKHOUSE of Lancashire,¹⁸ WILLIAM BROWN of Thirsk,⁷ THOMAS CHALKLEY of Philadelphia,¹⁶ ELIZABETH DENNIS of Essex,⁷ THOMAS GAWTHORP of Cumberland,³ MARY GRIER of Ireland,⁷ ARCHIBALD GILLESPEY of Newcastle,⁷ SAMUEL HOPWOOD of Cornwall,¹⁹ ELIZABETH KENDAL of Essex,² SUSANNAH MARTIN of Sussex, ANN PARSON of Pennsylvania,¹⁵ MERCY RANSOM,⁷ ELIZABETH RAWLINSON of Lancaster,⁷ THOMAS WHITE of Norwich,⁷ RACHEL WILSON of Kendal.³

WILLIAM F. MILLER.

To be continued.

- ¹ MS. Records of Edinburgh Yearly Meeting.
- ² MS. Records of Aberdeen Yearly Meeting.
- ³ *Piety Promoted.*
- ⁴ Wight & Rutty's *History of Friends in Ireland*, 1751.
- ⁵ *Life of Samuel Bownas*, 1795.
- ⁶ *Account of the Life and Travels of John Fothergill*, 1773.
- ⁷ *A Collection of Testimonies*, 1760.
- ⁸ *Works of Benjamin Holme*, 1753.
- ⁹ *The Annual Monitor*, 1816, p. 125.
- ¹⁰ Document in D.
- ¹¹ *Journal of Thomas Story*, 1747.
- ¹² *Memoirs of David Hall*, 1799.
- ¹³ *Life of James Gough*, 1832.
- ¹⁴ *Journal F.H.S.* x. 242.
- ¹⁵ *Journal F.H.S.* viii. 9.
- ¹⁶ *American Memorials of Friends*, 1788.
- ¹⁷ *Journal F.H.S.* x. 245.
- ¹⁸ *Memoirs of the Backhouse Family*, 1831.
- ¹⁹ *Journals of Thomas Wilson and James Dickinson*, 1847.

Burton Burial Ground, South Yorkshire

IN THE JOURNAL, vol. iii. p. 19, appears an article by the late Charles Brady, of Barnsley, on "Disused Burial Grounds in South Yorkshire," in which there is a reference to Burton and the curious inscription once affixed at the entrance to the Burial Ground.

The inscription (not included in above article), said to have been composed by Richard Farnsworth, is as follows :

ANNO DOM. 1657.

Though superstitious minds doe judge Amisse of this Buriall place, yet let them know hereby that the scripture saith, the Earth it is the Lord's, And I say soe is this, therefore being soe, and by his People also sett Apart for the Churches use or A Buriall place, it is as holy or convenient and good for that use and service as any other Earth is : And it is not without scripture warrant, or examples of the Holy men of God to Burie in such A place : for Joshua a servant of the Lord, and Commander in cheife, or Leader and Ruler of the People of God, when he Died was neither Buried in A steeplehouse now called A Parish Church, nor in A steeplehouse yeard, but he was Buried in the border of his inheritance, And on the north side of Mount Gaash : as you may read, see Joshua the 24.th Chapter and the 29th and 30th verses : And Eleazar Arons son, who was Called of the Lord, when he Died they Buried him, not in A Parish Church nor A Steeplehouse Yeard, but they Buried him in the Hill of Phinehas his son : wich was given him in Mount Ephraim, as you may Read Joshua the 24.th the 33.^d And these were noe superstitious Persons but the beloued of the Lord, and were well Buried : And soe were they in Abrahams bought field, Geneses the 23^d Chfter, the 17 : 18 : 19 : and 20th verses : Though superstitious minds are now unwilling unto the truth to bow : who are offended at such as Burie in their inheritance, or bought field Appointed for that use :

An inexact transcription of above is given in *South Yorkshire, i.e., The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster*, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, 1831. The Author states the "inscription . . . was placed there by the first Gamaliel Milner of Burton Grange." This statement having been submitted to William E. Brady, of Barnsley, he has kindly looked into the question and written as follows :

Regarding the statement in Hunter's *Deanery of Doncaster* that the brass plate was placed at Burton Burial Ground by Gamaliel Milner. This may be correct, but I have never heard it so attributed by Friends here. I note Hunter gives no authority for the statement.

¹ A photograph of the plate, supplied *per* William E. Brady, of Barnsley, is in D.

In the Diary of John Hobson of Dodworth (two miles west of Barnsley, Burton being about the same distance east), published in Vol. 65 of the Surtees Society's Proceedings, for 1875, the following entry occurs under date September 10, 1728 :

"That day Michael Milner, a noted quaker, buried at the burying place at Burton, in the same grave that his father Gamaliel Milner and his mother were buried, who occasioned that place to be enclosed for that use and she was the first to be interr'd there."

To this entry there are two editorial notes as follows : " See the remarkable inscription engraved on a brass plate fixed over the door of entrance by Gamaliel Milner, 1657, in Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, vol. ii. pg. 397"; and " 1657. Hellen, the wife of Gamalian Milner of Munkbretton abbey was buried the xiii day of August, in the burying place at Burton, a quaker." (Roystone Parish Register.)

This statement by Hobson suggests that in his day Burton Burial Ground and the Milner family were inseparably united in the common mind. This is quite natural ; it appears that most Burton Friends were of very humble origin ; the Milners of Burton Grange were of some local note (when in 1697 Friends proceeded to build a Meeting House, Michael, son of Gamaliel Milner, was the second largest contributor to the building fund), and by Hunter's time had come still further to the front in local affairs, and I suspect it was the tendency to associate everything connected with Burton Friends to the Milner family which led Hunter to ascribe the plate to Gamaliel Milner, as apparently it had led Hobson into the error of stating that this prominent Friend had originally caused the ground to be enclosed. The donor of the ground was George Ellis. From the deed, dated 1658, it would appear that the ground was enclosed, the plate fixed—at any rate prepared—and at least one interment had taken place before the execution of the deed of gift.

On the other hand Gamaliel Milner was financially able to have the plate prepared and fixed, and it might be argued that as his wife's funeral was for some months the only one that had taken place in the graveyard, he had a special incentive to justify himself amongst his neighbours, who would be more or less scandalised at the idea of burial in unconsecrated ground.

The whole matter is, however, of minor importance. Personally I believe the plate is part of the original equipment of the ground and contemporary with the building of the enclosing wall—the corporate expression of the infant Burton Meeting, not the later addition of an individual member. I venture to suggest, however, that for your records, which I doubt not you wish to be distinctly accurate, the ascription of the plate to Gamaliel Milner should not be unqualified.

Thomas Shillitoe refers to Burton and the plate in his Journal, under date of 1807, but he does not mention either Gamaliel Milner or George Ellis.

In the MSS. of Joseph Wilkinson, author of *Worthies of Barnsley*, etc., which were presented by his Executors to the Barnsley Naturalist and Scientific Society, is the following reference to the plate :

"On the meeting house at Monk Bretton being pulled down, this inscription, remarkable on several accounts, was removed to the new meeting house which was erected at Barnsley, in 1815, and there it was placed in the porch. It is as follows:—[Wording follows.] The person who presented land for this graveyard was Mr. George Ellis of Monk Bretton, a member of a quaker family who long resided there. By deed of gift in 1658 he conveyed to several trustees therein named a parcel of ground at Burton for a burying place for the people called Quakers, on which was afterwards erected a meeting house, etc., but which meeting house was subsequently taken down, and the materials carried away in consequence of a more commodious meeting house having been erected at Barnsley. The death of George Ellis took place, according to the Burton Register, on the 23rd 6 mo. 1676, when he was buried in the graveyard he had presented."

Friends in Current Literature

THE memory of John Dalton, whether as man or scientist, deserves to be kept green, and we welcome the recently issued treatise by Professor W. W. Haldane Gee, Dr. Hubert Frank Coward and Dr. Arthur Harden, giving the history of John Dalton's lectures: *John Dalton's Lectures and Lecture Illustrations*, from Volume 59, Part iii., of "Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society," Session 1914-1915 (Manchester: 16, George Street, price 1s. 6d.). It consists of 66 pages of matter and twelve well-executed plates. The discovery in the House of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society of a roll of diagrams, 150 in number, many of which "were annotated with the unmistakable handwriting of John Dalton," now carefully cleaned and preserved, led to the publication of a summary prepared and elucidated by comparison with the Dalton manuscripts also in possession of the Society. The summary is to be followed by a more detailed description of some of the lectures.

Dalton was but twenty-one years of age when, at Kendal in 1787, he ventured upon a lecturing career in addition to his school duties. No information is forthcoming as to the success of the venture. A framed copy of the syllabus is in possession of the Society. The next syllabus was dated 1791, and the profit and loss account of the lectures with its error in casting is reproduced in Plate II. Among the items are "Candles 4/10½," "Sundry small expenses 1/4½," "Profit and Loss, gained £6 4s. 6d."

In 1793, Dalton went to Manchester to teach Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, remaining there six years. In the winter of 1803-04 he was engaged to give a course on Mechanics, Electricity, Magnetism, Optics, etc., before the Royal Institution, London. His first lecture he wrote out in full—read it to Sir Humphry Davy, who from the furthest corner of the room listened and criticised. Then Davy

read and Dalton became the critical audience. Next day it was delivered before some 150 persons and Dalton was complimented. After this he ceased to write, depending on experiment and verbal illustration. He received 80 guineas for the course. In several succeeding years he lectured at Manchester, purchasing apparatus for the lectures at a cost of £200. The Society is in possession of some of the most important pieces. The lectures of 1811 produced nearly £130, respecting which he wrote to his brother Jonathan that it "exceeded any I have had before." He also lectured in Leeds and Birmingham.

In 1820 he gave Electricity the first place in his lectures; in 1824 he became lecturer on Pharmaceutical Chemistry in the newly established School of Medicine and Surgery. In 1825, when he advertised his six lectures on Meteorology, he stated that he had begun to register his meteorological observations thirty-eight years before, the Aurora Borealis being the "principal cause" inducing him to do so.

In 1835 he lectured at Manchester on the Atomic Theory to a crowded audience anxious to lose no word that fell from his lips, and this was the last public lecture of which any record has been found. In January, 1836, the Directors of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution presented John Dalton, D.C.L., F.R.S., President of the Literary and Philosophical Society, with an inkstand, which was bequeathed to the Society in 1851, and has been in regular use at its meetings ever since.

The general sketch of his lecturing career is followed by a brief description of eighty-four Natural Philosophy diagrams, illustrating Mechanics, Heat, Optics, Acoustics, Electricity, Meteorology and Astronomy, and fifty-three illustrating the Atomic Theory. A few remain unclassified.

The plates, besides one already mentioned, present *inter alia* the syllabus of Dalton's lectures at Kendal, 1791; tables of twenty and thirty-five elements respectively with atomic weights, the composition of water, ammonia, carbonic acid, nitrous oxide and various acids; also heat in an atmosphere and *in vacuo*.

We shall await with interest the promised detailed account of certain lectures.

The Mycetozoa and some questions which they suggest (London: Simpkin, 94 pp., 2s. 6d. net) is the title of a delightful little treatise by Sir Edward Fry, G.C.B., and his daughter, Miss Agnes Fry. The appearance of the second edition, bearing date 1915, brings it before us. The prefatory note states that it is "substantially a reprint of the first edition," which appeared prior to the second edition of Arthur Lister's descriptive catalogue of the Mycetozoa, issued by Miss G. Lister in 1911. [For this and other points referred to, see THE JOURNAL, xii. 84, 85.]

It is an interesting coincidence that important works on these minute "living things" should be the result of researches of two eminent contemporary Friends, in each case ably assisted by a daughter.

The book is well worth perusal by the average reader, because in some ninety pages of large clear type, many of which contain admirable monochrome illustrations, he can gain some knowledge of the subject in language not over-weighted with difficult technical terms. The familiar name of "myxies," which "rhymes with pixies," is humorously introduced on the first page in preference to the word "slime-fungus," the anglicised form of the German "Schleimpilz."

Many references appear in the booklet to the works of Arthur Lister and Miss G. Lister, already referred to, to whom "all students of myxies are under the deepest obligations."

In an early paragraph "myxies" are cautiously defined as "living things"; towards the end their position is interestingly discussed, and "the life circle of the myxie" is happily described as exhibiting "a curious alternation of individualism and collectivism—a harmonious solution of the problem raised by the two principles which are found in conflict in other organisms and states of society." The writers on the whole deem it impossible to assign the myxies with certainty to the animal or vegetable kingdom. If there were a "buffer state" between the two, there they would place them. They appear rather to be a "vagrant tribe" wandering like nomads on either side of a border line, seeming to begin life as animals and end it as vegetables, "a life-history not without some sad analogies in human experience." Amongst the concluding paragraphs we commend to the reader those on Isomorphism and the phenomena of death as especially valuable and far-reaching in their bearing upon life, death and immortality.

Afterthoughts, by Mary Openshaw (London: Simpkin, pp. 298, 6s.), describes the life of a society girl, educated in Paris, among a colony of Friends at "Kendal," in the North of England (no doubt intended for Kendal). Her coming amongst Quakers, and the love affair which follows, greatly disturb the serenity of this quiet folk, but in the end they appear to be the better for the various happenings to which we are introduced in a pleasant, readable manner by the author.

Throughout the book Friends say "thee" for "thou," which is not the way of plain *North-country* Quakerism. A too rigid adherence to "thee" produces some impossible sentences—Matthew Vernon says in Meeting, "Dear Friends, I would ask of thee thy prayers" (p. 178), and his son, John, remarks to his worldly lover and her sister, "Thee must have amused thyself very well at the party"!

Under the title *The Way of the Good Physician*, Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, Secretary of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, has written a concise and readable account of Medical Missions, which, though primarily intended for use in Study Circles, possesses many attractions for the general reader. The author shows how widespread is the prevalence throughout non-Christian lands of both ignorance of the principles of medical science, and superstitious beliefs which spell cruelty and neglect towards the sick and diseased. Some of the larger problems

are touched on, such as the relation of medical missions to the development of the Church in the field and to other branches of missionary effort. (F.F.M.A., 15, Devonshire Street, Bishopsgate, E.C., pp. 136, 1s. net.)

"Cromwell's Quaker Soldiers" is the title of a nine-page article in *The Contemporary Review*, of November, from the facile pen of Mabel R. Brailsford, of Ilfracombe, author of "Quaker Women," published last spring. Miss Brailsford presents a succinct statement of the reasons why the soldier converted to Quakerism while in the army could not remain there—his denunciation of all other religious beliefs, his refusal of salutations and polite forms of address, and his objection to taking an oath. This statement is illustrated from various occurrences recorded in Fox's "Journal," and other contemporary literature in print and manuscript.

A very readable life of *William Penn*, by Rupert S. Holland, has appeared (New York: Macmillan, 7 by 4½, pp. 166), specially intended for young people. It is published in the series "True Stories of Great Americans." There are twelve illustrations. The price is 50 cents, or two shillings.

Most writers of fiction who have ventured to introduce Quaker characters into their books have made some attempt to place them in their historical setting, but Ashton Hilliers (otherwise, Henry Marriage Wallis) brings men of different centuries together in a curious and novel manner, in his latest, *Demi Royal* (London: Methuen, 387 pages). Thomas and Mary Ellwood (married 1669) have been detached from their period and live again in 1805, and in this later period a son has been granted them, and a daughter, but they are as kindly as ever. Isaac Penington (died 1679) has the pleasure of entertaining Stephen Grellet (died 1855), at his house. I. P., "though elderly, was still active and had that day undertaken a long journey" (page 53). The two must have greatly enjoyed this association, as also when journeying together "upon a religious visit to Friends in Lancashire and Yorkshire," and spending a night with Thomas Ellwood *en route* (page 282).

The Diarist alludes not infrequently and very sympathetically to Stephen Grellet and meets him in Sweden and in Spain (pages 96 and 194), but we think that by this time Grellet's diction could hardly be correctly described as "quaint jargon, half English, half French" (page 334).

Later we read of a visit paid to the writer of the reminiscences which form the book by Stephen Grellet, Isaac Penington, and William Allen, and are introduced to that ever-to-be-remembered service to this country rendered by William Allen and others, by whose financial assistance the Duke and Duchess of Kent were able to land again on

British soil ere their child was born—the daughter who later ascended the British Throne and sat thereon for more than sixty years.

H. M. Wallis writes us that he designed a more Friendly picture for the Publisher's wrapper to his book, but was over-ruled.

"Robinson Crusoe and his Lighthouse" is the title of an article in *My Magazine* for October. In it we learn of the wonderfully ingenious electrical inventions of Edwin O. Catford, in connection with the uninhabited lighthouse more than a mile from Platte Fougère, Guernsey. The Editor has made use of two articles prepared by E. O. Catford—one, a popular account of the lighthouse, and the other, of a more technical character, upon the influence of fog on sound.

In graphic language the story is told of a man who can fling power across the water until it reaches the Lighthouse rock, and there does his bidding. For Mrs. Catford's help a telephone is arranged which summons her, if the baby out in the perambulator should cry!

Everyman's Library No. 724 is devoted to *The Peace of Europe*, *Some Fruits of Solitude* and other writings of William Penn (London: J. M. Dent, 292 pp., 1s. net).

Joseph J. Green has an article in *The Essex Review* for October, on "Saffron Walden Local Authors and Authoresses," an addendum to an article under the same title in the July issue of this year. The original article by R. Heffer contains mention of but one Friend—George Stacey Gibson (1818-1883)—out of the twenty-six authors treated, whilst Joseph Green includes nine Friends in his list of fourteen.

An account of Joseph Smith, Quaker Bibliographer, whose parents at one time were resident at Saffron Walden, occupies about a quarter of the article.

Robert Muschamp, of Radcliffe, has contributed four articles to *The Lancaster Guardian* during the month of November, entitled—"Some Lancaster and District [Quaker] Records of the Seventeenth Century." The experiences of George Fox and other Friends in North Lancashire and adjacent counties are succinctly presented, and extracts are given from the Fleming Manuscripts, published by the Historical MSS. Commission.

Under the heading, *The Mystery of a Sepulchre*, our Friend, William Richardson Nash, of Carke-in-Cartmel, has caused to be printed some notes on the ancient Friends' Burial Ground, Dunnerdale, North Lancashire, accompanied by a plan of the district and a pretty little sketch of the enclosure, full of trees and backed by hills: "About seventy-five years ago the little Burial Ground was an orchard, but did not prove a success and was turned into a vegetable garden, and Mrs. Joseph Gunson (daughter of the Rev. Edward Tyson, Vicar of Seathwaite) found the place in a dilapidated condition, and, with a view of preserving it, repaired the

wall, put up a new gate, and, about the year 1870, planted it with trees and shrubs, since which time it has been the duty of the tenant of New Close Farm to keep the walls and gate in repair. There are stone ledges for seats built into the walls round three sides, on which Friends could rest while funerals were being conducted." No record of burials in this place has been discovered.

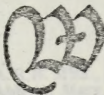
Copies of the pamphlet may be had from W. R. Nash for three-pence each.

War from a Quaker Point of View is the title of a small book of 114 pages by John William Graham, M.A., Principal of Dalton Hall, Manchester (Headley Brothers, 1s. 6d. net). That such a book is timely there is abundant evidence round us in this time of war. The author treats his subject under twenty-four sectional headings, of which the following are a few examples: "The Teaching of Christ," "The Early Fathers," "Early Quakerism and Peace," "Is there a Place for Force?" "The Soldier and the Policeman," "War as a Moral Tonic," "Preparing for the Future," etc. He lays emphasis on the claims of the State on the citizen and upholds the duty of national service wherever it is not in conflict with the higher loyalty to the commands of Christ and the enlightened conscience of the individual. J. W. Graham goes to considerable pains to explain difficult passages in the New Testament, such as the two swords passage (Luke xxii. 35-38). He accepts Dr. Moffatt's general interpretation of this passage, substituting for the thought of prophetic "fulfilment" the more natural meaning that Jesus gave utterance to the words, "Enough, Enough," being too weary to continue His teaching at that time. The book has the merits of being concise and suggestive, and this is as it should be, for in matters of morality and ethics the reader is likely to be benefited most surely as he accepts the seed thought and cultivates it naturally in his own life with the Light from above and the implements of his own experience.

To *The Hibbert Journal* for October, John William Graham contributes an article under the title "The War: a Quaker Apologia." He states the Quaker position thus, "Broadly, we believe that it is our duty and privilege to be faithful to the all-conqueror whose name is Love." J. W. Graham illustrates the Friends' idea of national service in time of war by some account of the Friends' Ambulance Unit and the War Victims' Relief Committee. In the latter part of his article he deals with certain New Testament texts which have so often been interpreted as giving Divine sanction to war. The argument all through is pursued with directness and on a high level, and one feels that the presentation of the subject from the Quaker point of view has been well done.

The Atlantic Monthly for November, page 647, contains a story by Marion Pugh Read, entitled, "Namesakes." Her delicate portraiture of the old-fashioned Quaker child, Mary Ann, and the spirit of Quakerism that it breathes, could scarcely have been so correctly and feelingly drawn except by one raised a Friend.

Editors' Notes

E are sure that our readers will learn with great satisfaction that Norman Penney has resumed work at Devonshire House, and will again take up the editorship of THE JOURNAL. While staying at Bournemouth he has been able to give some attention to the preparation of the present issue.

Owing to the absence of the Editor the publication of Supplement No. 13 has been delayed, and it will not appear till 1916. This being so it is concluded not to issue a further Supplement in the year 1916. The subscription list for Supplement 13 ("A.R.B. Manuscripts," see page 45) is still open—three shillings or 75 cents.

The annotation of the Swarthmoor Hall Account Book has also been delayed. The whole of the text, making 510 pages, is, however, printed, and notes to names, etc., with glossary, are to follow. The Editor would be glad to be directed to literature in print or manuscript dealing with conditions in northern England in the later half of the seventeenth century, or referring to Friends resident in the Furness district of Lancashire. Address: Norman Penney, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

YORK MEETING, 1842.—A list of members and attenders of York Meeting, 7th Month, 1842, has recently been added to MSS. preserved in D.

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